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The Daniel Schorr affair

by Laurence Stern



The new sports coverage: the fine art of neglecting the game

by Michael Novak



How the news affects juries: a controversial study

by Dan Rottenberg



Swept away: the press & the Ford-Reagan assassination 'plot'

by Sanford J. Ungar



Can the Guild unit survive at The Washington Post?

by Shirley Elder



Woodstein in the movies

by Nat Hentoff



Is the leg mightier than the atom?

Before you say no, keep in mind that we know very little about many forms of energy available to us.

Including good old muscle power.

For too long a time we've relied on oil and gas to serve our needs, and failed to take full advantage of other sources of power.

Including the atom.

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—Excerpt from the *Review's* founding editorial, Autumn 1961

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Other reasons why DC-10s are flying? Passengers love them because they're comfortable, reliable, and the quietest jetliners in the air.

The next time you fly, ask your travel agent to book you aboard a DC-10. There are plenty of them flying.



COMMENT

'The Final Days': levels of factuality?

Even as their first book, *All the President's Men*, is translated into film, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of *The Washington Post* have brought out their second, titled *The Final Days*. This time they have attempted something far more difficult than their first narrative, which was essentially a personal one. This time they leave themselves out of the picture as they describe the downfall of Richard Nixon, relying heavily on anonymous sources who may not themselves have been participants or witnesses to the intimate scenes they have described in minute detail.

"Nothing in this book," the authors assure us, "has been reconstructed without accounts from at least two people." They concede, however, that in certain cases their anonymous informants were not speaking from personal knowledge.

While their narrative method has led to a readable and, no doubt, a revealing book, it does not help readers to judge for themselves the evidence the authors used. Like any investigators, the authors surely found a kind of hierarchy of fact — that is, information of which they were absolutely certain, information of which they were reasonably certain, and information that was probably true, but of which they were far from certain. But to supply what has become known barbarously as "a good read," all facts in *The Final Days* are rendered equal, and readers are troubled neither by authentication nor qualification. The writers state everything with the utter confidence of novelists. Sometimes they project themselves into the minds of persons with whom they probably did not talk: "In the clear light of the next day, the President could see he faced grave difficulties on two fronts." But the problem is epitomized in the already

celebrated Kissinger-Nixon prayer scene:

Nixon got down on his knees. Kissinger felt he had no alternative but to kneel down, too. The President prayed out loud, asking for help, rest, peace and love. How could a President and a country be torn apart by such small things?

Obviously, Woodward and Bernstein are convinced that such a scene took place. But they say they did not talk to at least one of the participants. Did they talk to the other? Probably (and the very nature of the presentation must lead to further conjecture) they talked to two people who had talked to *one* of the participants. What becomes of their claim to check with two sources in this instance? The scene is offered just as firmly as the rest of the narrative.

The *Review* feels that responsible journalism would be better served by a more open sharing with readers of the nature of the evidence.

One-issue presidential candidates

During the turbulent sixties, activists discovered that one of the most effective ways to put their message before the general public was to stage a "news event." The idea was to compel media coverage and thereby lead people to think about issues they otherwise would ignore.

Now, midway through the cautious seventies, one group has apparently found a new way to gain access to the media, and thereby to the community in general: running for president. Few believe that Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate, is seriously interested in becoming president. What seems to interest McCormack is promoting her right-to-life views. As a bona fide candidate, she receives not only

more publicity for her views than she might otherwise get, but federal funding as well. As of March 18, she had qualified for \$169,043.90 in federal matching funds for her campaign.

McCormack's candidacy may well be a harbinger of things to come — one-issue presidential candidates running full-blown campaigns simply to promote a particular position in the community at large. This strikes us as an unintended, and unwelcome, consequence of federal election reform.

Darts and laurels

Dart: to Ann Landers, for selective memory. She concurred in her March 6 column with a defense of the "unjustly maligned" funeral industry — but she did not tell her readers that her son-in-law Jules Furth is a funeral director.

Dart: to the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City, for permitting a curious cult of personality. In its March 17 news section, the paper ran a by-lined story by reporter Evangeline Tappan questioning a Department of Interior decision that kept miners from taking mineral resources from Utah's canyonlands. The article's sole source was Evangeline Tappan and it quoted Evangeline Tappan ten times. And guess which reporter was reported in the article to hold seventy mining claims in Utah's canyonlands?

Laurel (with fingers crossed): to KPIX-TV, the group W station in San Francisco. Instead of the game shows now broadcast during Monday-to-Friday prime-time access periods, the station has announced plans to present a new, locally produced magazine-format series that will include investigative reporting and consumer information.

Dart: to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, which headlined a December obituary, FORMER ENQUIRER NEWSGAL DIES. (Has "newsguy" ever appeared in an

obituary, we wonder?)

Dart: to the *New York Daily News*, for a journalistic heist; to *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, as accessories after the fact. Vera Glaser's exclusive story about negotiations between Mrs. Jacob Javits and the Mexican government went out on the Knight News Wire on February 18 for release on February 22. On February 20, the *Daily News*, which is linked to the Knight wire, broke the embargo and reported the story under the by-line of one of its own reporters. Other papers, including the *Times* and the *Post*, picked up the story — and generously credited the *News*.

Laurel: to *Point of View*, the irascible Cleveland newsletter, for reporting in a recent issue that the *Plain Dealer's* TV columnist devoted some 350 gushing inches of copy to ABC at about the same time that he jetted off to the Winter Olympics in Austria, courtesy of ABC.

Dart: to Safeway Stores, for supermarket censorship. When alerted by headquarters to *The Atlantic Monthly's* March cover story, "Rip-Off at the Supermarket," a number of Safeway managers responded by ripping the magazine off supermarket shelves.

Dart: to the copywriter for those ubiquitous restaurant sugar packets — another medium to monitor! — for turning an honest cup of coffee into a political statement. The Warren Harding commemorative packet realistically acknowledges the "Teapot Dome Scandal," but in the sugar-package biography of Richard Nixon, that other memorable disgrace is sweetly ignored.

News and cat food 'don't mix

It seems high time to blow the whistle on supposedly impartial television journalists who step out of their accustomed roles to deliver commercials. A case in point is found on the *Today* show. There Jim Hartz, Barbara Walters, and Lew Wood repeatedly pause to deliver hyperbolic claims for a cat food, a pot scrubber, or a cereal — all delivered without cracking a smile.

The explanation often given is that



advertisers and network sales people insist on continuing the policy that started back when Dave Garroway presided over the show. When the program was shifted to the news department, a no-commercials-by-journalists policy was instituted. After advertisers withdrew in protest, the policy was rescinded.

Of course, advertisers and salesmen would also love to have Cronkite or Chancellor or Reasoner peddle their wares on the evening news — John Chancellor reportedly left *Today* long ago partly because he declined to do commercials. As the *Today* show increasingly becomes news oriented, it is time for NBC to affirm that TV journalists are not for sale. Advertisers will leave again, but they will come back.

Of television and human bondage

When the state assembly of New York last February approved an amendment that would add "one television set" to the household goods that are exempt from seizure when a person's possessions are taken to satisfy his debts, it seemed a harmless enough idea — even, perhaps, humane. After all, we reasoned, society's measure may be taken by those things it deems necessary for human survival; if television becomes inviolate, can stereo be far behind?

But then in March, along came Nicholas Johnson with the alarming notion that television may be just as addic-

tive as alcohol. In an address before the Alcoholism Society in Dallas, the redoubtable former F.C.C. commissioner identified what he called the ten early warning signals of television addiction: "If you try to go through an evening without TV, do you become nervous and irritable? . . . When other people tell you you're watching too much TV, do you become defensive? . . ."

If dependence on television is indeed becoming epidemic, it may not be a bad idea for wise men in state capitals and elsewhere to reflect a bit before legitimizing its "necessity." History has plenty to say about civilization's circuses, only the least of which is that they were popular.

A struggle over access

After WNBC-TV, the network's owned-and-operated New York City outlet, broadcast a five-part series on gasoline prices on the local evening news show, it probably was not surprised to have the Mobil Oil Corporation strike back. Mobil long has been the industry's leader in aggressively telling its story in its own way — most visibly in the form of ads that appear on the editorial pages of leading American newspapers. To answer the WNBC series, Mobil took out a full-page ad in *The New York Times* to decry a "hatchet job" on oil companies in general, and Mobil in particular. (The ad was decorated with hatchets.)

Mobil had refused to cooperate during the reporting and filming of the series, and had also refused WNBC's offer of either two or five minutes (depending on whether you ask Mobil or WNBC) of live air time to respond to the series. Mobil finally did agree to take part in a follow-up program, along with three other oil companies — but it still is pressing for thirty minutes of paid air time to present its own case more fully.

Without judging the merits of Mobil's case against WNBC or the complex questions about access generally, we note only that it is difficult to be in sympathy with requests for access from a corporation that refuses opportunities for access on terms it finds unfavorable.

continued on page 10

Profits Are For People...

As essential as profits are to the survival of our way of life, I know of few subjects so universally misunderstood. And a recent nationwide survey indicated that misconceptions about profits are increasing. Obviously, business is not getting the message through. The time is long overdue for some old-fashioned plain talk.

By putting profits to work, companies build new factories, modernize existing facilities, enable Americans to compete with manufacturers abroad and—most critical—create jobs for our people and opportunities for future generations. The company that doesn't make a consistent profit year in and year out withers and disappears, and so do the jobs of its employees.

Most experts agree that our economy will need at least \$4 trillion in new capital during the next 10 years. Unless we plan to convert to socialism—and we certainly don't want to do that—a good part of it will have to come from corporate profits. Yet, contrary to what most Americans think, corporate profits have been shrinking. Today, the rate of profit by U.S. corporations is about 5% on sales, less than it was a decade ago. If profitability continues to shrink, we can look forward to an era of diminished economic growth and fewer jobs.

And when there is less profit to tax, our federal, state and local governments cannot obtain the revenues needed to carry out public programs, and the goals we have set for our society will be seriously threatened.



Our company—Allied Chemical—is a good example of profits at work. From 1970 to 1974, we earned net profits of \$436 million and plowed back \$258 million into business expansion and job-creating activities. That's about 62¢ of every dollar we earn. But this creative reinvestment of profits is only part of the story. Businesses that are profitable provide much of the support for public spending. During this same period, our company paid more than \$382 million in taxes. Our employees paid taxes from their wages, and our stockholders paid taxes on their dividends. So, profits are continually recycled for everyone's benefit.

During the next few months we will be talking publicly about corporate profits because we are convinced that an understanding of this subject by our people is vital to protect America's quality of life. We invite you to read these messages and to let us know how you feel about our viewpoint.

A handwritten signature of John T. Connor in dark ink.

John T. Connor
Chairman





Why International Paper is helping to develop a 1,000,000-acre forest on land it doesn't own

We want to make sure there'll still be enough wood products around when your children grow up.

Industry sources estimate Americans will use about twice as much paper and wood in the year 2000 as they use today. And the U.S. Forest Service predicts that our nation's commercial timberlands won't be able to keep up with the demand.

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We're looking especially to people who own land close to our operations in the South. In 1976 we'll expand our program to the Northeast and West Coast.

How we help landowners

We do it through the Landowner Assistance Program.

We'll show a private land-

owner how to prepare a site, plant, protect, thin, and harvest — at no charge.

This way, he can get the most from his forest land — in some cases, he can actually *double* his yield.

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For this help, IP gets the right to buy a landowner's timber at competitive prices.

We've got more than 300,000 acres in the Landowner Assistance Program now. We're aiming for 1,000,000 before 1980.

A big help. But it's only one thing we're doing to increase the world's wood-fiber supply.

Higher yield from our own lands

We've developed a Supertree — a southern pine that grows taller, straighter, healthier and faster than ordinary pines.

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At International Paper, we believe forest products companies, private landowners and the government should work together to develop more constructive policies for managing America's forests.

The wrong policies can make tree farming impossible and force the sale of forest land for other purposes.

The right policies can assure continuation of America's forests — a renewable natural resource.

If you'd like more information about what has to be done to assure the world's fiber supply, write Dept. 168-A International Paper Company, 220 East 42nd St., New York, New York 10017.



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How Reagan missed 'victory' in New Hampshire

My earlier *Review* article ("Distorting the Voice of the People," November/December 1975) has caused me to have even greater than normal interest in this year's presidential primaries.

It seems to me that the press missed the real story in the New Hampshire primary. When Ronald Reagan announced he was entering the primary, he said that he hoped to get, or expected to get, or would be satisfied with 45 percent of the vote, if memory serves me right. To play the primary game properly, he should have said 35 percent, not 45 percent — thus setting a low expectation that he could easily exceed. So, his first mistake was to set the "expectation level" too high.

His second mistake was to amend that expectation level upward as his polls showed him doing exceedingly well. (I am told that his final poll showed him with a seven point lead over Ford in New Hampshire.) The week before the New Hampshire primary, he and his staff implied, if they did not predict outright, that he would beat Ford in absolute numbers of votes. Thus, the expectation level was boosted still higher — by the Reagan forces themselves.

Consequently, the press, instead of talking about Reagan's impressive showing and terming it a "psychological victory," viewed it as "disappointing" and as leaving questions about Reagan's voter appeal. In 1972 the press was so manipulated by the McGovern forces that his 37 percent of the vote, even though that was nine percentage points behind Muskie's share, was seen as a McGovern victory. But in 1976 the press, "manipulated" by the Reagan forces, viewed a 48 percent figure — *more impressive than McGovern's 1972 New Hampshire performance*, and only one percentage point less than the vote received by the incumbent president — as a "disappointing showing."

Properly played, the Reagan performance in New Hampshire could have been the beginning of a successful march to the nomination — and the

press should have recognized it. Had the Reagan expectation level been 35 percent instead of more than 50 percent, his New Hampshire showing would have been considered a "victory" and he probably would have retained his early Florida lead and won both that and the subsequent Illinois primary. As of this writing, it is conceivable that Reagan's "stunning upset victory" (a term used by the press) in North Carolina can revitalize his candidacy, although it is probably too little too late. (This "stunning upset victory" results, incidentally, not from any large margin of victory, but because his "expectation level," after defeats in previous states, was low in North Carolina.)

Other gaffes may be made by other candidates before the election is over, but Reagan's New Hampshire gaffe and the press's failure to note it, are in my opinion prime candidates for the political *faux pas* of the year. (Carter, by contrast, knows how to play this "game." He has predicted that he would "do well" in advance of each primary and has professed to be "pleased and surprised" after each primary's results are known.)

The New Hampshire primary adds weight to my argument that the primaries tend to result in candidates who are "more extremist, more maverick" than those selected in the smoke-filled rooms. The fact that Reagan, an "extremist" of the right, could run within one point of the incumbent president in New Hampshire (and actually win in North Carolina), is one example. The fact that Harris, an "extremist" of the left, could get four times as high a vote in New Hampshire as he got in a simultaneous national poll, is another example. The fact that Carter, a "maverick," has won in six of his first eight primaries is a third.

I said that the primaries result not only in candidates who are more extremist, more maverick, but also "less electable." With respect to Reagan and Harris, I stick to that statement. I also said then that Governor Wallace was not

electable and, obviously, I still say so.

I am not at all sure, however, that Jimmy Carter, barring some disclosure about him or mistake by him, may not be *highly* electable. But like John Kennedy, he is a "maverick," not an "extremist" — and Kennedy won the nomination by means of the primaries, but nevertheless went on to win the election.

The record of the first several primaries seems to me to illustrate how little meaning a single primary *should* have. Solely because of "expectation level," Reagan was judged to have lost rather than won in New Hampshire.

On the Democratic side, Carter won the first primary in New Hampshire (but Jackson and Wallace weren't in it). Jackson won the second one in Massachusetts (but placed only third in the third one). Carter won the third one in Florida (but Udall, Bayh, etc., were not in it). Carter also won the fourth one in Illinois (but Massachusetts winner Jackson was not in it). And Carter won the fifth one in North Carolina (again, Jackson was not in it).

However, despite all of Carter's primary victories, the "smart talk" still has Humphrey the front-runner and he hasn't been in *any* primary.

If I were now writing the original article, I would make changes — but not many. Chiefly, I would make greater allowance for the primaries to produce an ultimately electable candidate if his appeal in the primaries is as a "maverick" rather than as an "extremist."

BURNS W. ROPER

Burns W. Roper is president of The Roper Organization.

Bicentennial brawl in Philadelphia

The feud between Philadelphia mayor Frank L. Rizzo and the press has exploded into a major conflict in recent weeks. This newest imbroglio started when, in mid-March, *The Philadelphia Inquirer's* preprinted Sunday supplement, *Today*, was scheduled to run a satirical column about Rizzo by staff

writer Desmond Ryan. The column, in the form of a letter of protest from the mayor written in a parody of his vernacular, had Rizzo characterizing his enemies as "shysters," "bulldozers," "micks," and "polacks."

Rizzo obtained an advance copy of the column in midweek through some friends in the *Inquirer* mail room. He was livid. He tried to stop publication through some friendly persuasion of *Inquirer* bigwigs. When they refused, he appealed to the courts. After the courts turned down his attempt to stop distribution of *Today*, he lodged a six-million-dollar libel suit against the *Inquirer* and author Desmond Ryan.

The Thursday after publication, Judge Stanley Greenberg held an after-the-fact hearing on the prior restraint. (Rizzo wanted to make sure that the *Inquirer* would never run the column again.) Mayor Rizzo was on the witness stand almost the entire day. "When I read this column," Rizzo said, pointing to a copy of the Ryan parody, "I was

sick to my stomach, disgusted, and never did I believe that in our great democracy something like this could be written."

When asked if he would ever use such foul language, Rizzo said no, but later he modified this disclaimer: "If I was in the men's room with [Albert] Gaudiosi [the mayor's chief political adviser], I might."

Rizzo testified that his brother, Joe, the city's fire commissioner, was not aware that the column was a parody. And from the stand, the mayor muttered, "And Mr. Ryan — one day I'll strangle that sucker if he comes near me."

The *Inquirer* announced in court on Friday that it was unlikely that the column would be reprinted since papers normally don't use the same material twice, and the mayor dropped his plea for an injunction. The libel suit still stands, however. That afternoon about 250 members of the Building and Construction Trades Council, a rough-and-

tumble labor collective closely allied with the mayor, picketed the *Inquirer*, blocking all building entrances, so that two editions of the paper were delayed. Two *Inquirer* photographers trying to enter the building were beaten up. The Philadelphia police department, controlled completely by the mayor, refused to intercede and threatened to arrest one editor if he tried to force his way inside. Finally, federal authorities were called in; by midnight U.S. marshals had dispersed the crowd of picketers. The *Inquirer* charged that the siege was ordered by Frank Rizzo himself. Rizzo called the charge "nonsense."

Like the rest of the nation, Philadelphia is celebrating the Bicentennial this year. But in the city where the Bill of Rights was conceived, constitutional questions are being settled in the streets, rather than in the courts.

TONY GREEN

Tony Green is a writer for Philadelphia magazine.

For the facts on rising insurance rates, call State Farm.

Auto insurance rates are going up across the country. The reasons are complex. For more information, call or write State Farm and ask for our Insurance Background on "Why Insurance Rates Are Going Up."

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Now some politicians want to take them apart.

There are people who want to dismember America's integrated oil companies—those companies that do the whole job from exploration through marketing.

Today, more than 50 integrated oil companies compete for your business. Hundreds of firms compete in various phases of the industry—exploration, production, refining, transportation, and marketing.

What would happen if the oil companies were taken apart?

Ironically, prices would go up, not down. A so-called breakup would destroy the efficient integrated system

and create a need for a new layer of costly and unnecessary "middlemen." Additionally, the chaos created by such a breakup would make it tougher for the industry to attract the capital it needs. Millions of Americans in oil and oil-related industries could lose their job security. Technical advances would be slowed down. Money needed to search for new supplies would dry up.

The result? *Less domestic oil would be available, increasing our dependence on foreign oil. America could be weakened. You, the consumer,*

would be less certain of getting the oil—the automotive gasoline and home-heating fuel and other products you need—when you need it, *while paying more for what you get.*

Before it's decided to take apart the oil companies—let's find out just who would benefit. We firmly believe it wouldn't be you.



We're working to keep your trust.

The 'plot' to kill Ford and Reagan

How a conversation among radicals, recalled by an F.B.I. informer, turned into a 'plot'

by SANFORD J. UNGAR

It comes as only a small surprise that when twenty sixth graders at a school in East Hartford, Connecticut were recently given a Bicentennial assignment to describe "The Day I Become President," about half of them wrote about assassination attempts, even though that part of the presidential experience had apparently not been discussed in class in connection with the assignment. For assassinations and assassination plots — past, present, and potential — have been big in the news in the United States during most of those children's lives. Indeed, the sixth graders' own hometown newspaper, the *Hartford Courant*, led with a story on Tuesday, March 16 that carried a suggestive headline: FBI INVESTIGATES 'PLOT' TO KILL FORD; REAGAN ALSO ON HIT LIST. The story related that Gregg D. Adornetto, who had been arrested several weeks earlier as a member of an alleged ring of revolutionary terrorists operating in the San Francisco area, had told the F.B.I. of plans to assassinate President Ford and his rival, former California governor Ronald Reagan, at the Republican National Convention in

Kansas City in August.

The page-one story in the *Courant* that morning was from the *Los Angeles Times* and had been distributed overnight by the Washington Post-Los Angeles Times News Service. But the sensational tale of the "plot" on the lives of the nation's two leading Republicans had actually originated a day earlier, on an otherwise sleepy Monday, on the second page of the *Chicago Tribune*. The excitement it provoked was very hot, if short-lived. Fortunately for Ford and Reagan, but unfortunately for the nerves and confidence of newspaper readers across the country who absorbed and (presumably) believed it, the story had little substance. The repercussions, nonetheless, are intriguing.

Ronald Koziol, who wrote the initial "plot" story in the *Tribune*, is a police reporter of the old school. He acts and talks like a cop, according to his colleagues, and his sources in the law-enforcement community are excellent. His track record is good, even though, like many of his counterparts on other newspapers, he sometimes seems inclined to believe anything a policeman says. More than once the *Tribune* had sent Koziol to the West Coast to trace out leads in the ongoing investigation of the Patricia Hearst case, and he had been heard in the newsroom to remark that if he had any dream in life, it was to be on the scene when she was captured. Having missed out on that historic moment, he was now covering her trial in San Francisco and, in spare moments, plumbing his sources for other material — especially anything concerning a topic of particular interest to him, the radical underground.

On any other Monday but the day be-

fore the Illinois presidential and gubernatorial primary, Koziol's story probably would have been bannered in the *Tribune's* highly competitive Sunday night street editions. It was thin on details and did not name the F.B.I. informer, as the *Los Angeles Times* report later would, but it was spectacular. At issue was "a commando-style assassination team," a "terrorist murder squad," and the Secret Service was hard at work investigating, Koziol wrote.

If the *Tribune* was uncharacteristically low-key about the piece, the wire services were not. They picked it up and ran with it. By Monday morning, recalls one official at F.B.I. headquarters in Washington, "We were running around here in circles," trying to track down details about the "plot" to answer a deluge of questions from reporters. When headquarters finally reached knowledgeable people in the San Francisco field office of the bureau, they learned the following: Adornetto, one of six people arrested in a predawn raid on a house in Richmond, California — apparently a bomb factory — on February 21, had begun talking to F.B.I. agents almost immediately. And talked and talked. In early interviews, he spoke, among other things, of plans to kill Reagan and Ford, but in later ones he said that he had made this up; eventually he claimed that some members of his group, the "Emiliano Zapata Unit," had casually talked about what they might do in an attack on the Kansas City convention, but he insisted that no one had ever taken the idea very seriously. F.B.I. agents found that some of Adornetto's information checked out, but some did not. Parts of his story seemed to be self-aggrandizing exaggeration, not an uncommon commodity

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among terrorists-turned-informers. The San Francisco field office frankly did not know what to believe about his talk of a plot against Ford and Reagan. Like the ten or so other similar threats on the president's life that it gets in an average month in the San Francisco Bay area alone, it had routinely referred an account of Adornetto's ramblings to the Secret Service and other interested agencies. Koziol had obviously picked up his story from someone in the F.B.I. or others it had told.

In Washington, bureau officials, with visions of Lee Harvey Oswalds dancing in their heads, were reluctant to issue a flat denial that the "plot" existed. After all, they reasoned, what if it did? In a spirit of caution, they drafted a statement over the name of director Clarence M. Kelley, acknowledging that "unsubstantiated information recently has been received by the F.B.I. that a member of a terrorist group was possibly planning to attempt assassinations of Ford and Reagan." Charles W. Bates, special-agent-in-charge of the San Francisco field office, read Kelley's statement at a press conference there. The F.B.I. declaration could not have had more qualifiers; but it seemed only to fan the flames and to lend an official imprimatur to the original *Tribune* report. By Tuesday, the story was on the front page of the *Tribune*, the *Courant*, and the *Detroit Free Press*, among others. While *The Boston Globe* played it down and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Denver Post* ignored it, the *Baltimore Sun*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and *Miami Herald* joined the crowd with prominent inside stories. The *Los Angeles Times*, on page 3, added that Adornetto had also talked of assassination plots against prominent California politicians, but it stressed that its sources were uncertain about the informer's credibility. *The Washington Post* ran the *Los Angeles Times* story on an inside page. *The New York Times* and *Washington Star* were outwardly skeptical; the *Times* quoted a source as saying that the plot was a "washout," and the report in the *Star* labeled it a "fake," saying that F.B.I. representatives in San Francisco had wanted bureau headquarters to declare as much in the first place.

There it lay for several days. The

newspapers and wire services were now calm — and justifiably so, as there was nothing more to report (if there had really been anything in the first place). Except in the *Tribune*. With the jury in the Hearst trial out deliberating, Koziol was back in the editions of Friday, March 19 with additional details. TIE CUBAN SPY TO PLOT AGAINST FORD, REAGAN screamed the two-deck banner headline in the early papers. (The story also remained on page one in later editions, but with more discreet headlines.) Adornetto had told the bureau that the Zapata Unit had an adviser who was a member of Fidel Castro's "Cuban spy apparatus" but had recently fled from the United States, according to the new story. What Koziol did not say — probably because he didn't know — was that the Cuban connection had been part of Adornetto's original conversations with the F.B.I., but not a single detail of it held up under bureau checking. Confronted with that fact, the informer had recanted and said he had dreamed up the Cuban spy.

The second time, other newspapers were more cautious about following the *Tribune's* lead, and the bureau was a bit more aggressive about warning reporters not to go racing into a blind alley. Except in Chicago, the readers' nerves were not overstimulated again.

But even when much ado has been made about next-to-nothing, there can be some important reverberations. Perhaps the greatest uproar over the "plot" came, naturally enough, in Kansas City. Police chief Joseph McNamara said that even though the alleged threat to Ford and Reagan was "apparently nothing more than a rumor," it added new urgency to a pending request for \$2.6 million in special funds from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to pay for convention security, according to the *Kansas City Times*.

Koziol, for his part, insists that the story was a good one, and suggests that, if anything, it was underplayed in the *Tribune* the first time around. "I have no doubt in my mind that it was a legitimate plot," he says. "I don't put anything past some of these groups out in California." The subject first came up, the reporter recalls, over lunch in

San Francisco with an old friend, and then two other sources independently corroborated the information before he used it. "I knew I wasn't being played by somebody or used on this particular thing," he adds. But Koziol has his own suspicions in other areas; he wonders, for example, whether the leak to *The Washington Star*, tending to cast doubt on the existence of the "plot," came from "someone who wanted it to blow over fast" and was concerned lest the Cuban connection be revealed.

It is easy to imagine that in earlier, simpler times, when the bureau was answerable to almost no one, the Adornetto affair might have been exploited by J. Edgar Hoover and his associates to stir up a national scare over the security of the president and the country. (Such an informer, in fact, might have been converted into an *agent provocateur* and sent back into the Zapata Unit to encourage a "plot" that barely existed in the first place, thus fomenting violence in the name of preventing it.) In that event, leaking unsubstantiated information to the press would have been an essential part of the strategy. What seems more likely here is that a single F.B.I. agent or a member of another police force — perhaps one of the many specialists in internal security who have seen their star falling during the last few years — perceived a new opportunity that might help revive his old business.

Koziol, doubtless, was following well-developed instincts and trusting sources he believed were reliable. The *Tribune*, with its understandable desire for a jump on the competition in a hypercompetitive newspaper town, was in turn trusting its own well-tested man. Other newspapers presumably joined in for competitive reasons, especially after the bureau appeared to give first reports of the "plot" some credence. Yet even such good-faith efforts of reporters and editors are not enough in themselves to assure that rumors will not be transformed into the truths of daily reporting. Actual assassination attempts are, of course, news, and should be reported fully. But perhaps a different standard can be applied by all concerned to the discussion and coverage of vague and unproved threats. It is neither necessary nor constructive to frighten the entire country every time one comes along. ■

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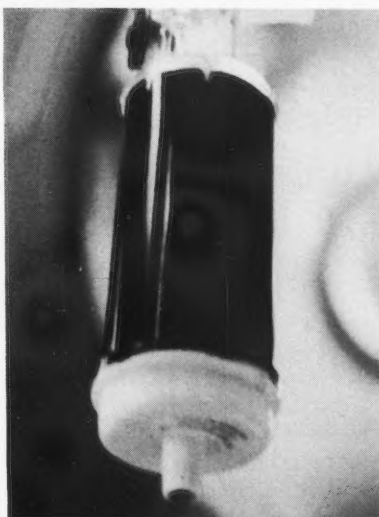
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Do news reports bias

There are some disturbing findings in a recent experimental study (and many questions that remain unanswered)

by DAN ROTTENBERG

Does prejudicial pre-trial publicity impede a defendant's Sixth Amendment right to a fair trial?

Most judges think it does. The Supreme Court said as much in 1966 when it reversed the Ohio murder conviction of Dr. Sam Sheppard because, it said, the trial judge had allowed jurors and witnesses to read prejudicial reports in the Cleveland newspapers. Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun said so even more emphatically last fall when he approved in principle the notion that the courts have power to keep the press from reporting certain trial-related information even if it is presented in open court. A 1970 study reported that 86.3 percent of American judges polled believed that publication of a defendant's prior criminal record was an obstacle to a fair trial, and 96.4 percent felt the same way about the release of a defendant's confession. Their attitudes are obviously shared by the hundreds of judges who since 1966 have issued restrictions or outright gag orders against crime coverage by the media.

But no one has ever been able to say with certainty how publicity affects jurors' verdicts, or whether it affects those verdicts at all, and what specific kinds of publicity, if any, are prejudicial. "Judges work on impressions rather than any empirical evidence," acknowledges U.S. Appeals Court judge Paul H. Roney, chairman of an

American Bar Association committee that has drawn up proposed guidelines for judges who intend to issue restraints on press coverage.

Throughout the debate, most journalists have contended that juries are capable of reaching fair verdicts regardless of what appears in the news media. And the very idea of the jury system assumes we must be able to trust jurors to make their own judgments. Last year, however, Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research released the results of a study which came closer than any previous jury experiment to simulating real courtroom conditions. The report is a sobering one for journalists, for it suggests that publicity does indeed have adverse effects on jurors — although it by no means argues that gag orders are warranted.

The study, conducted by social scientist Alice Padawer-Singer, used juries consisting of actual jurors picked at random from regular jury pools in Mineola and Brooklyn, New York. (Previous jury experiments by other social scientists have been conducted away from an authentic courtroom and have used mock juries consisting of college students or upper-middle-class people who have volunteered to participate.) Each of Padawer-Singer's juries — thirty-three in all — sat in an actual courtroom, listened to a tape of an actual murder trial and then deliberated the verdict in a jury room. The particular trial chosen — a murder case in Washington, D.C. — was picked because it contained two characteristics: first, the prosecution had based its case mainly on weak circumstantial evidence, and second, the defendant had not taken the stand, so his past criminal record couldn't be used by the prosecution to impeach his credibility. Thus the jurors should have been completely ignorant of the defendant's past — unless they had read about it in a news story.

Before playing the tape of the trial, Padawer-Singer exposed half of her juries to simulated newspaper clippings

which contained one or two dry sentences reporting that the defendant had a criminal background and that he had retracted his alleged confession. The remaining juries were given clippings with no mention of the defendant's confession or of his criminal past.

The result: of the juries exposed to the presumably prejudicial clippings, 80 percent delivered majorities or unanimous verdicts of guilty, but of the juries not exposed to the tainted clippings, only 39 percent favored a guilty verdict.

To be sure, the Padawer-Singer study had its weak points. Columbia law professor Maurice Rosenberg, a pioneer in jury experiments, notes that the simulated press clippings, the lack of time lag between the reading of the clippings and the actual trial, and the intense concentration of events (each jury was given just two days to hear the trial tape and deliberate) don't replicate reality. Some of the juries didn't even finish their deliberations with a unanimous vote for guilt or acquittal, but simply recorded majority votes at the end of the second day.

Still, an exhaustive 1966 study of hundreds of actual jury trials by law professors Harry Kalven and Hans Zeisel of the University of Chicago concluded that "with very few exceptions, the first ballot decides the outcome of the verdict." And in any case, Rosenberg says, the clarity of the gulf between Padawer-Singer's exposed and unexposed juries is respectable. As individuals, 72.2 percent of the exposed jurors voted guilty, while only 43.8 percent of those not exposed to prejudicial publicity voted guilty.

"In the absence of anything else," Rosenberg adds, "we're bound to say that it looks as if jurors, when exposed to stuff of this kind about retracted confession or prior criminal record, are more prone to find guilt than jurors who are not." To Allen Barton, the director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, who supervised the Padawer-Singer study, the experiment suggests that pre-trial information about a defendant's confession or prior criminal

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To be sure, other studies have yielded other results. The Kalven-Zeisel study of real jury verdicts concluded, among other things, that the jury is a healthy and stubborn institution, not likely to be overwhelmed by a remark of counsel or an item in the press; this study, though, was not primarily concerned with the impact of pre-trial publicity. Professor Rita Simon's 1966 experiment, like Padawer-Singer's, examined the responses of "exposed" and "unexposed" jurors to a tape-recorded trial and suggested that the impact of pre-trial publicity was negligible. But Simon's "jurors" were upper-middle-class volunteers who reached their verdicts in a home setting, not a jury room.

Padawer-Singer describes herself as someone who would like to see fair-trial remedies within the criminal-justice system without any censorship of the press. Indeed, her study of the Brooklyn juries had an added variation: in addition to dividing her juries into those exposed to prejudicial publicity and those not exposed, she also split each group into juries picked at random and those chosen through *voir dire* examination, during which potential jurors are questioned by opposing counsel in order to determine their competence to serve. (Actual lawyers on the prosecutor's staff and in the public defender's office conducted these examinations.) Although the results in this aspect of the study were far from conclusive, they did suggest that *voir dire* examination seems to reduce the effects of prejudicial information and to impress upon jurors the importance of examining all sets of arguments in a trial. (Judges often frown on the *voir dire* procedure because it takes too long, but it may well be a better approach than gagging the press.)

Nevertheless, the Padawer-Singer study could be used by supporters of renewed efforts to restrain the press in its crime reporting. Under the American Bar Association's proposed guidelines, a judge could issue a gag order, but would have to warn the press in advance so as to alert the public that all relevant

information would not be available and to give the press time to prepare legal appeals. Federal judge Paul H. Roney, chairman of the committee, says these guidelines would provide a mechanism for reminding a judge of the First Amendment implications of any gag order and might even cause him to change his mind about issuing it at all. But the A.B.A. Guidelines (which still await formal consideration by the association) do not prohibit the courts from placing prior restraints on publication.

Barton of Columbia suggests that the alternative to gag orders is self-restraint by the press regarding information that has been shown to be prejudicial in studies like Padawer-Singer's. The trouble with voluntary restraints is that the press might not follow them, and perhaps it shouldn't, if Justice Blackmun is any guide: among other things, Blackmun said, the courts could make mandatory the voluntary guidelines for trial reporting that the press had entered into with courts and bar associations in twenty-three states.

Rosenberg says he too favors non-official sanctioning mechanisms, such as a national news council, to keep press coverage in line. Beyond that, he suggests expensive penalties for the media as an alternative to prior restraint. In such a situation, a newspaper which believed a gag order was unconstitutional could continue to publish at its peril while it appealed the ruling; if its appeal was denied it would suffer heavy fines or possibly even jail sentences. Such a procedure might very well have the same chilling effect on reporting as prior restraint — "If an editor goes to jail after the fact, he's going to wish he'd been restrained before the fact," Rosenberg concedes — but at least the press would be free to make that choice.

To the extent that the Padawer-Singer study may encourage restraints on the press, media spokesmen see it as a dangerous thing. But they are concerned primarily with the "foot-in-the-door" principle — that is, that once the courts

have the right to restrict press reporting of some public records, they will extend those restrictions to other areas of human communication. (Indeed, they already have: in California last fall, a federal judge banned the showing of the film *Manson* in twenty-six of California's fifty-eight counties. The film contains possibly prejudicial footage about Lynette Fromme, accused of trying to assassinate President Ford. Since Fromme's jurors hadn't yet been chosen, the judge decided that the best way to guarantee a fair trial was not to let *anyone* see the film.)

But beyond the obvious freedom-of-speech issue, the Padawer-Singer study suggests that some soul-searching by the press is in order regarding crime-coverage practices. What, after all, is so important about publishing news of a confession, or of a defendant's prior criminal record? Who among the public really cares, or needs to know, that a mass murderer has a criminal past — aside from a commercial newspaper hungry for increased newsstand sales? Former Philadelphia district attorney Arlen Specter once contended that the public did indeed have a legitimate interest in a suspect's prior criminal record, as one means of evaluating the state's rehabilitation facilities and parole board. That may be so, but what is the pressing need to publish such information just before a trial?

James C. Goodale, executive vice-president of *The New York Times*, acknowledges that "if indeed you had a million studies which showed conclusively that when you ran a prior record it jeopardized a defendant's rights, the press ought to damn well know that and be damned sensitive to publication of that prior record." But Goodale says Padawer-Singer's study fails to persuade him.

"You have one laboratory experiment," he notes, "but there's so much evidence going the other way — not experiments, but real evidence," as in the trials of Maurice Stans, John Mitchell, John Connally, Sonny Carson, and other celebrated defendants who have

been acquitted in the face of widespread prejudicial publicity. But regardless of the evidence, Goodale adds, "It's never been our standard in this country to make judgments as to what should or should not be published based on its effects on people. Once you accept that premise, it seems to me you have established a system of censorship." Floyd Abrams, a New York lawyer who has represented the *Times* and other papers against restraining orders, argues that pre-trial publicity is no more prejudicial than some procedures in an actual trial. If a defendant takes the stand, for example, his prior criminal record can be used against him. This is done ostensibly for the purpose of impeaching his credibility; having heard the defendant's prior criminal record, the jury is then expected to ignore it when considering his guilt. "As a society, we have made the judgment to trust juries to make such distinctions," Abrams says. "We know it's hard, and yet we proceed on the hypothesis that juries can do what they're told and do it in a diligent and appropriate fashion."

For judges who don't trust jurors that much but hesitate at muzzling the press, a possible compromise is a 1973 ruling by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court — still in force — forbidding prosecutors and police from divulging defendants' confessions or prior arrest records but leaving the media free to publish whatever they can get their hands on. The ruling has elevated the fine art of surreptitious news leaking, but civil libertarians generally like it because it respects both the First and Sixth Amendments.

"The restraint should be on the government agency, not on the press," says Spencer Coxe, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union branch in Philadelphia. "It would be hard to devise a gag rule upon the press or a defense lawyer without running afoul of their free speech rights, whereas there is no 'right' on the part of a public official to give out information."

Whatever the merits of the Pennsylvania ruling, its implications speak volumes about traditional crime reporting. The Pennsylvania court's underlying premise seems to have been that the press is entirely dependent on law enforcement officials for crime news. In theory, this is absurd: if a reporter wants

to find out something badly enough, he usually can. Nor is there anything to prevent news organizations from maintaining their own records of arrests and convictions. But in practice, docile news media have all too often accepted the proposition that police and prosecutors have a monopoly on crime information. A hidden benefit of the Pennsylvania court's ruling may be that it will finally force crime reporters to improve their sources elsewhere in the community.

Nevertheless, both the Pennsylvania order silencing public officials and the more common gag orders silencing the press demonstrate an alarming myopia by judges in their understanding of the role of information in a free society. The effect of these rulings is that the public's professional sources of information — police and prosecutors on one hand, the media on the other — are shut off, but amateur communicators — defendants, relatives, witnesses, rumormongers — are free to spread their versions, however inaccurate. Although the press was barred from reporting the preliminary hearing in the Lincoln County, Nebraska murder case, the hearing itself was open to the public, and many local people attended and were free to tell their neighbors all that transpired. In fact, argues prominent defense attorney Percy Foreman, the effect of gag rules on public officials, lawyers, or the media may be that "the only information available to the public is the least reliable."

It can also be argued that the reckless abandon with which judges have been issuing gag orders is in itself a demonstration that the courts need the fullest possible scrutiny by the media. The Reporters Committee survey in 1972 found no gag order in which due process notice or hearing had been afforded to the public in advance of an order's being entered. A county judge last year held the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania *Globe-Times* in contempt because the paper printed a picture of a murder defendant with the county courthouse in the background. In 1973 a Plymouth, Indiana circuit court judge ordered some fifteen reporters from his court while allowing spectators to remain because the media representatives refused to appoint a

single "pool" reporter to cover a murder arraignment; the judge explained that to allow more than one reporter in the courtroom might result in "unwarranted or inaccurate publicity." Earlier this year, a Montgomery County, Pennsylvania common pleas judge barred the public and the press from his courtroom to protect the identity of a defendant who was cooperating with a police investigation. Asked to cite a legal authority for his decision, the judge conceded, "I cannot put my hand on a specific authority to explain what I did yesterday."

There is a larger question, too, as to how much of society's right to free and open communications ought to be sacrificed for the relatively limited right of a fair trial. As Thomas Powers noted in *Commonweal* last fall, "A trial is a narrow proceeding, properly concerned with the question of *legal* guilt or innocence." The fact that a defendant is freed doesn't necessarily mean that he did not commit the crime with which he was charged, only that the evidence as presented wasn't sufficient to convict him. Nor does a verdict fulfill all of society's informational needs; the James Earl Ray case comes to mind. "We are obliged," Powers added, "to accept the verdict only as being legally proper, not as representing the truth, and we ought not to be starved of information for the convenience of the court."

Padawer-Singer, meanwhile, would like to extend her experiments but has had difficulty financing them. She acknowledges that her studies thus far have had some shortcomings, which she attributes to a lack of funds. She would have preferred, for example, to have her jurors watch videotapes of the trial instead of listening to audiotapes. And she would have liked to have allowed her juries more time for consideration of their verdicts. She has applied to press associations and legal groups for grants, but so far has found no takers. "Everyone's afraid to fund me," she maintains. "They're all afraid of what I might find, or how it might be used." Whether or not her concerns explain her funding problems, they do, in today's judicial climate, suggest that great care be exercised in weighing claims on both sides of this issue. For the openness of our society is also at stake. ■

Freedom is everybody's right

No matter how many disclaimers we inject into this statement, we're afraid it's going to outrage some people. Some won't understand what we are talking about, because from their point of view, most reporting is essentially accurate and most editorials are fair.

Another reason we may be misunderstood is that some members of the working press feel that businessmen almost invariably exaggerate the damage done by inaccurate reporting (or of no coverage at all), overreact to critical editorials, and actually want to control the press, for their own sinister purposes.

Well, we *don't* want to control the press. But we *do* believe a way should be found to provide adequate, timely, and economic channels of communication whereby individuals and organizations can correct demonstrably inaccurate reporting or editorials. While some newspapers have mechanisms that they consider adequate, we believe there is room for substantial improvement.

We believe a system can be found that does not do violence to the First Amendment. We believe, above all, that it should be developed by the press itself, voluntarily. In urging this evolutionary step, we hasten to add that we consider American newspapers among the best in the world. We think what we are suggesting here would make them even better.

In our experience, materials provided by companies or individuals in the form of news releases, speeches, White Papers, special studies, and other documents, or even in face-to-face briefings, have not proved to be the answer, because of the selective use of such materials.

Nor do letters to the editor do the job. Few of them get printed, and even the small proportion of them that are printed invariably fail to get the coverage the original, damaging article got. They appear long after the offending article or editorial has done its damage. Finally, the newspapers usually impose severe limitations on the length of such letters.

Thus some companies and individuals have more than once felt impelled to buy advertising space to try to correct what they considered inaccurate reporting or editorials. But who could afford

the amount of paid advertising required to rebut an inaccurate article that might have appeared in several hundred newspapers? Moreover, this raises a larger issue: What about the organizations and individuals who cannot afford to buy *any* advertising space to try to set the record straight?

The situation with respect to the nationwide commercial television and radio networks is worse. They have no equivalent of the letter to the editor.

We recognize that the structure of TV and radio news and documentaries is not satisfactory for handling complex material or long stories. But that is no justification for failing to provide suitable access for correction of errors caused by this structure. Moreover, networks have refused to sell time for others to present information or viewpoints on any subject the *networks* decide is controversial.

We would hope the press (both electronic and print) would have the enlightened self-interest to see the importance of some adequate mechanism if we are indeed to have freedom of the press and not just freedom *for* the press. And we would hope the press will be astute enough to develop such a mechanism itself, since it would be far superior to other recourses available, such as the libel law.

Many other democracies around the world, in an effort to alleviate this problem, have enacted legislation requiring some form of access for rebuttals. These include Denmark, France, Italy, Belgium, West Germany, Austria, and Norway. We are not urging such legislation. On the contrary, we are urging the development of a voluntary mechanism, developed by the press, which would promote free and robust debate.

We say again: We believe it is in the interest of the press and of the American people that some system of access be established so that one of the world's freest presses can be even better. We don't have all the answers. We think they should come as the result of open-minded experimentation by the press, and we hope that this message constitutes a responsible attempt to stimulate such experimentation.

It seems to us that the demise of so many newspapers across the country in recent years places on the surviving newspapers an even greater responsibility in this respect.

Mobil



The Daniel Schorr affair

A morality play for the Fourth Estate

by LAURENCE STERN

In the very early days the Daniel Schorr Affair seemed to be a budding micro-controversy in Washington's self-infatuated media world. It was almost a burlesque of the intelligence subculture, complete with code word and exploding cover story. *New York* magazine and *Village Voice* editor Clay Felker, who can lock onto a trendy journalistic subject as unerringly as a laser-guided missile on a camouflaged tank, provided the code word (SWORD-FISH) and the outlet (the *Voice*) for the hot document. It would not be unreasonable to assume that at some point in the Pike Report caper the words formed themselves in Felker's mind: "Eat your hearts out, Ben, Abe, the whole lot of you."

But the affair quickly assumed a more somber aspect as the CBS hierarchy, the intelligence establishment, the anonymous leakers, the congressional hardliners, the columnists, the trustees of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, and Schorr — a beleaguered Saint Dan at the stake — were all caught up in it. The Schorr Affair became a complex morality play from which each of the interested parties could extract the message it wanted to hear.

The executive branch was able to point piously at the Schorr leak and charge that Congress had once again proven itself incapable of keeping the nation's secrets. The Pentagon and C.I.A. sycophants in Congress were easily able to muster the votes needed to take the extraordinary step of suppressing a House committee report. Sweet vengeance must have been on the minds of some congressmen, such as

Representative Edward Hebert (Democrat, Louisiana) who has long been chafing at CBS for portraying him as a Pentagon shill in its muckraking documentary "The Selling of the Pentagon."

New York Times columnists Tom Wicker and William Safire could agree in their opposing polar regions of political conviction that Schorr had done the Lord's work. Wicker's reasoning was liberal-populist predictable, but Safire's column had an interesting twist. Schorr was being martyred by the enemy (CBS board chairman William Paley, arch-mogul of the Liberal Media Axis) of Safire's friend (former President Nixon), even though Schorr had not exactly endeared himself to the Nixon administration. The enemy of the enemy of my friend is my friend.

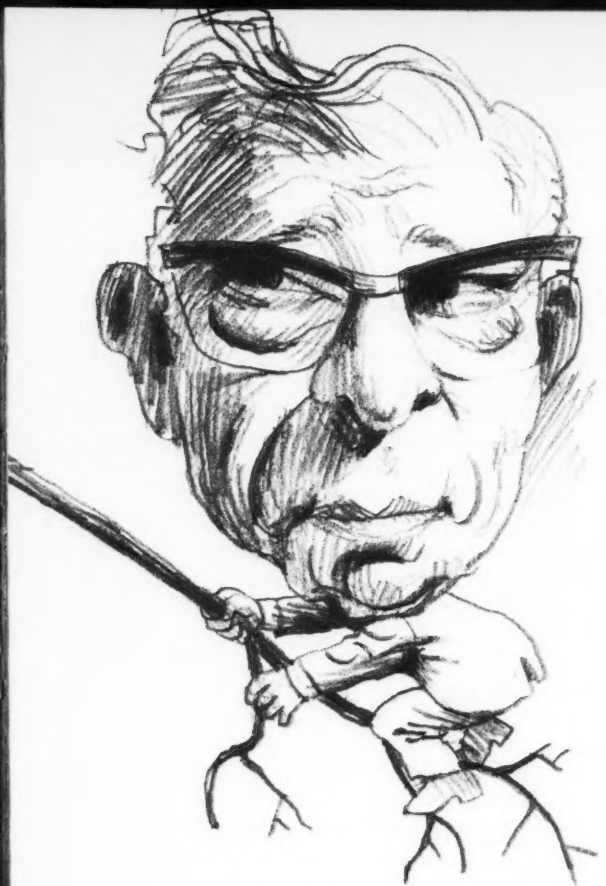
Meanwhile other newspaper editorialists and such commentators as *The Washington Post's* ombudsman Charles B. Seib decried "dollar-sign" journalism, even though it was not Schorr who was to profit from the financial proceeds of the sale of the Pike Report to Felker, but the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

And finally there was the Reporters Committee, which provided Schorr with a lawyer-agent to arrange publication of the manuscript and which, in turn, was to receive the "substantial sum" Felker intimated would be coming its way. In an angry breakup with Schorr, some of the working journalist trustees of the committee ended up denouncing the CBS correspondent in terms almost as harsh as those flung at Schorr by former C.I.A. director Richard M. Helms. "Killer Schorr . . . cocksucker," Helms had shouted at Schorr. Jack Nelson, the widely respected Washington bureau chief of the *Los Angeles Times* and a trustee, was quoted as calling Schorr a "no good shit trying to transfer blame to the committee in case his source gets burned." Other trustees, among them Eileen Shanahan of *The New York Times*, remained faithful to Schorr.

It would be no exaggeration to say that things had reached a distasteful state of affairs for the Fourth Estate. The self-intoxication of Watergate was far behind.

Worse yet was the prospect of a full-fledged witch-hunt, complete with ex-F.B.I. agents and lie detector tests, by the

Laurence Stern is national affairs writer for The Washington Post. The editors wish to point out that it was Stern who, in an article in the Post, first made it possible to identify Daniel Schorr as the reporter who provided Clay Felker with a copy of the Pike Report and that Schorr was initially furious at Stern. Contacted by CJR, Schorr said: "My only criticism of Larry Stern is for fleshing out his [Post] story with material which I had explained in a friendly manner was off the record, and for attributing material to me that was not for attribution." The two men have since discussed this matter. Schorr told the Review: "Larry persuaded me from his notes that I was mistaken on some of these counts," adding, "I went wrong on some things and I think he did, too."



Sandy Huffaker

otherwise inert House Committee on Standards and Ethics, to find Schorr's source. Although many influential members of the House are publicly proclaiming their reluctance to take part in such an inquisition, as this is written in late March the committee was moving toward a possible head-on collision with the First Amendment on the issue of confidentiality of sources. Even if Schorr is not forced to that point of confrontation under penalty of contempt, the lesson of his plight would not be lost on those who deal with the press in a wide range of areas.

Schorr, too, has had much upon which to reflect as the result of his decision to leak the report. The most serious prospect facing the fifty-nine-year-old television journalist, who has served the network for more than two decades, is the possibility that he will be fired for his role in the controversy. Indeed, as of this writing, CBS had reportedly reached the decision to buy out the remainder of Schorr's five-year contract. (CBS News president Richard Salant says this report is "just plain wrong.") Some CBS insiders say privately that the increasingly harsh face the network had been showing toward Schorr as the affair unraveled reflects the displeasure at the summit where board chairman Paley presides.

"CBS is run like Constantinople in the seventh century," said one network official. "No one makes a move without checking with the caliph."

The independence of CBS News is one of the network's most cherished pieces of institutional folklore and no one in the hierarchy, least of all Paley, would hand Schorr the weapon of being able to claim interference from Black Rock

— the network's supreme headquarters — in the operation of the news division. And so Paley has been keeping his silence while CBS News president Salant has been issuing the terse statements and no comments on the Schorr Affair.

No examination of the Schorr case can be made without a look at the origins of the Pike Report itself. For in the flood of rhetoric and recrimination about the leak, the substance of the report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence has gone virtually unnoticed.

It is my own view that the main value of the investigation chaired by Representative Otis Pike (Democrat, New York) was in its theatrical rather than documentary achievements. Pike was able to dramatize the impasse that had developed between the executive branch and Congress over the important question of how much secrecy the national security bureaucracy was willing to give up to permit effective public oversight.

Throughout the hearings this was the point which Pike pressed, at first with impressive effect, but then with decreasing usefulness as he pushed the confrontations beyond his base of power in the committee and the House. The investigation itself — its infrastructure, its sense of purpose — was far weaker than the public displays suggested.

Pike's efforts to frame the inquiry in cost-efficiency terms, as though the intelligence process were a faulty helicopter, were hardly suitable to the task. Moreover, his staff was inexperienced in foreign-policy issues and, on the whole, not up to the task of marshaling a complex investigation full of political booby traps. Pike ran the investigation in the spirit of *The Front Page*, sending investigators out to get the dirt on the administration. "I want to start getting complaints about you," one of the investigators quoted a senior staff member as instructing him.

The 358-page report which was finally drafted contained few conclusions that had not already leaked in some form or had not already been reported in some other setting. The assertion, for example, of an intelligence gap at the onset of the Yom Kippur War was no surprise to reporters who had covered the events at the time, or, in fact, to anyone who had read Tad Szulc's article on the war which appeared in *New York* magazine in July 1974, or that by Walter Lacquer and Edward Luttwak which appeared in *Commentary* several months later. Both articles were strongly critical of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's role as a crisis manager in the early phase of the Yom Kippur War, as well as of the flawed U.S. intelligence record; and both drew from many of the same sources, chief among them being Ray Cline, former deputy director of the C.I.A. for intelligence and State Department director of intelligence and research.

Curiously, the one area of inquiry in which the committee broke some new ground — Kissinger's almost total control of the SALT verification process — was long ignored by those who first obtained copies.

But the dominant point about the Pike Report was that it was left with few surprises. Given the practicalities of journalistic competition, then, the question was not whether it added significantly to established knowledge; it was the fact of possession. In this race the victory went to Schorr, who performed with the enterprise and perseverance which are

his trademarks as a journalist, and to *The New York Times*, which also got access to the document itself, but was denied permission to copy it as Schorr had done. Most of the rest of us had to content ourselves with trying to learn about the committee's conclusions by interviewing those members of the committee and staff who had read the report. Though Schorr assumed he had the only copy of the final report after the House voted to keep it secret, Tad Szulc told me he received a copy, unsolicited, in the mails several days before *The Village Voice* published the excerpts from Schorr's copy.

On Friday, January 23, the Pike committee approved the report. That weekend, Schorr got access to it, as did *The New York Times*. He went after it "hard," as he put it, after getting cues from contacts that the time was propitious. It was widely expected that the Pike Report would be made public within a few days.

Starting Sunday night, January 25, both CBS and the *Times* began making public material from the report. When the House Intelligence Committee met the following morning, Representative Robert McClory (Republican, Illinois) loudly protested the leak, and another Republican member was openly pondering the possibility of bringing staff members in and questioning them under oath. Staff director A.

Searle Field, who was appearing before the committee to present staff recommendations on new intelligence legislation, retorted that the executive branch could well have been the culprit. Dozens of copies, he said, were floating around within the White House, the State Department, and the C.I.A. The agency's special counsel, Mitchell Rogovin, responded indignantly that the one copy the committee had provided the C.I.A. did not even contain footnoted material which was being reported in the press. His point was that Schorr and the *Times* had evidently seen a fuller version of the report than the C.I.A. itself had received from the committee. This was the beginning of a series of counteraccusations between the House committee and Rogovin which did little credit either to Congress or to the C.I.A.

In this setting of deepening acrimony and with the leak to Schorr and the *Times* being deplored on all sides of the intelligence debate, there was a stiffening of resistance throughout the House to releasing the Pike Report. This shift in mood was perceived and adroitly used by administration forces in the corridors and on the floor to oppose public release.

In the ensuing controversy over the leak of the House committee document, the report became ensnared in the House Rules Committee in a parliamentary ambush con-

Insufferable hypocrisy

Whatever the origins or motives of those who leaked the report, once the House voted for suppression, Daniel Schorr and *The Village Voice* performed a public service. They acted to print the text only after the House vote to suppress, when there was clearly a duty to make the text available.

It is characteristic that the target of the House investigation now is one isolated and suspended newsman. If secrets were given away, then CBS and *The New York Times* reached far more people with them than *The Village Voice* ever will, but the House leadership, like bullies everywhere, prefers to focus on the weakest possible victim.

Their efforts have been abetted by *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, which have sanctimoniously attacked Schorr on the utterly preposterous charge that he somehow was making money out of what he did by suggesting that *The Village Voice* make a contribution to the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

Coming from two papers which profited by printing the Pentagon Papers, this editorial position can only be characterized as insufferably hypocritical. And I must add a scowl for the freedom of the press committee. Its statement on the Schorr case was (if I may be pardoned the mixed metaphor) as firm as jelly and as evasively verbose as a standard-model politician. With such champions, the freedom of the press is certainly in danger.

There are two dangerous precedents for newsmen in the Schorr case. The first lies in Schorr's suspension by CBS on the ground that he has put himself in an adversary position with the government. A newsman was intended — shades

of Jefferson! — to be in an adversary position to government. To let Schorr's suspension go unchallenged is to give corporate media employers an excuse to get rid of reporters who get in wrong with the powers that be. I do not understand why *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* do not see this. If they had acted like CBS, the former would have suspended Woodward and Bernstein and the latter Seymour Hersh. Why shouldn't Schorr be able to fight back as a reporter for, and on, CBS and expose the evils of secrecy in government instead of being placed on the defensive and put in isolation as "controversial"?

The other dangerous precedent lies in the sanctions which the House witch-hunters hope to apply. The House does not have a legal leg to stand on if it tries to prosecute Schorr. The power to classify rests on shaky grounds in the executive branch; there are no grounds at all for classification in Congress. The only way the House can punish Schorr is to take away his credentials as a correspondent and thus his job. This is exactly the punishment sought in the investigation by that House Ethics Committee which was originally set up to police congressmen, not newspapermen, and which in almost a decade of existence has never before even bothered to obtain subpoena power or hire a full staff.

I. F. STONE

I. F. Stone is contributing editor of The New York Review of Books. This excerpt from "The Schorr Case: The Real Dangers" is reprinted with permission from The New York Review of Books. Copyright © 1976 Nyrev, Inc.

trived by Congressional partisans of the White House and the C.I.A. On January 30, the House voted 246 to 124 to keep the report secret. It was in keeping with the Lewis Carroll logic of the affair that the vast majority of Congressmen who so voted had not read the report.

"I felt myself confronted with an inescapable decision of journalistic conscience," Schorr wrote afterward in his eventual acknowledgment that it was he who provided Felker with a copy of the report. "It was whether, as possibly the sole possessor of the document outside the government, to cooperate in what might be the total suppression of a report originally meant for publication."

But "total suppression" was already impossible. CBS and *The New York Times* had had the better part of a week to skim its cream. Meanwhile, other newspapers, other networks, and the news agencies had been covering the story. On another occasion Schorr acknowledged: "The substance of the report had already been leaked."

Nonetheless, on Wednesday, February 4, Reporters Committee trustee Jack Landau began making calls to his colleagues and informing them that "a reporter" was ready to make his copy of the House report available for publication. "Dan at the time wanted to write an introduction to a paperback book edition of the report and name the Reporters Committee as the recipient [of the proceeds]," one participant in the discussions recalled.

At about the same time, New York attorney Peter Tufo received a call from his friend and personal client Fred Graham, also a CBS colleague of Schorr and trustee of the Reporters Committee, asking if he would help arrange publication of the House report. Tufo had represented the Reporters Committee in a proceeding before the New York Public Service Commission in which he successfully opposed the supplying of telephone records to government investigators without notice to the customer. His representation to the Reporters Committee, he emphasized, was "pro bono — without fee." To complicate the interrelationships, Tufo is also on the board of New York Magazine Company, which owns *The Village Voice*.

After unproductive contacts with the quick-book publishing trade, it was agreed that Felker would provide the most expeditious outlet. (Schorr, who at times professed surprise at the appearance of excerpts of the report in the *Voice*, has also said that Felker gave him a twenty-four-hour deadline to agree to publication, after which Felker would withdraw his offer to publish.) And though Felker promised what Schorr described as "a substantial contribution" to the committee, not one of the participating journalists was able to say how much or under what terms. In summing up the murky state of affairs among men whose jobs it is to articulate facts with precision, Tufo uttered what might serve as a fitting epitaph for the affair. Speaking of the final discussions involving the committee and Felker and Schorr, he told me: "As far as I knew, there was no agreement. Nobody had seen the manuscript. The discussion was tentative. No one knew what they were talking about. What happened after that — I don't know."

Yet somehow on Wednesday, February 11, *The Village Voice* appeared on newsstands throughout the country in

Felker's first national edition with a twenty-four-page supplement under the headline: THE CIA REPORT THE PRESIDENT DOESN'T WANT YOU TO READ.

It was titillating merchandising, reflecting Clay Felker's famous talent for promoting his wares. If you have it, flaunt it. And, perhaps as a corollary, if there isn't much news left in the document, go strong with the fact that you have it.

On that same Wednesday in the CBS Washington bureau an incident occurred which was rapidly reported through the network's gossip grapevine and is certain to play a role in CBS's final treatment of the Schorr case. According to Schorr's version, he dropped into the office of Sanford Socolow, the highest-ranking CBS News executive in the Washington bureau. A copy of the *Voice* lay on Socolow's desk. Schorr recalled Socolow remarking upon the by-line of Aaron Latham, a close friend of CBS correspondent Leslie Stahl, which was on the lead article introducing the Pike excerpts. Socolow asked aloud, Schorr remembered, "Are you thinking what I'm thinking?" Schorr, still according to his version, gave "an elaborate shrug" instead of disabusing Socolow of his suspicions. "There was, however, no thought in my mind of laying it on Leslie," Schorr said. "There was . . . a momentary hesitation on my part while I tried to figure out how I could deal with this thing."

Socolow's recollections are strikingly different. Speaking of the same encounter, the CBS executive said that Schorr came into his office where, indeed, the copy of the *Voice* now reposed, and asked, "Shouldn't we check out the whereabouts of Leslie and Latham last Friday?" The previous Friday, copies of the report were being Xeroxed in the Washington bureau to send up to CBS New York. Schorr's question, Socolow recalled, propelled Leslie Stahl's name into the story for the better part of the day. Stahl, who was on out-of-town political assignment, learned of the suspicions centering on herself in a telephone call from a colleague in Washington. She immediately called a lawyer to discuss possibilities of a libel action against Schorr. But the following day, Thursday, Schorr came into Socolow's office in a state of obvious agitation and said: "Disregard what I told you yesterday. You have no reason to be suspicious of Leslie and Aaron." Schorr, however, did not disclose his involvement in the *Village Voice* publication of the Pike Report until the following day, after hours of being closeted with CBS attorneys.

The vitiated form in which the Pike Report emerged in the first installment of the *Voice* — heavily excerpted and shorn of the truly significant and little-publicized section on SALT — hardly seemed worthy of the solemn moralizations later uttered by Schorr to explain his role as middle man in the leak. For example, at his first press conference on the affair, held on February 25, Schorr said: "It seemed to one reporter that to *not* publish would have been an act of contempt for the constitutional process."

However strong the case may have been for publishing the Pike Report, it had nothing to do at this stage with "constitutional process." The House was perfectly within its constitutional rights in voting against release of the re-

port — pusillanimous though its behavior was — just as CBS and *The New York Times* were within their First Amendment rights in publishing those portions of the report they were able to obtain before the House decided not to release it.

Schorr, in his last-minute decision to remain anonymous as the conduit of the report, was trying to avoid the constitutional test of his right to maintain the secrecy of his source. The purpose of anonymity, as well as his short-lived denials that he had a copy of the report, was to avoid subpoena by congressional investigators. Should Schorr be subpoenaed, he would probably be asked, under penalty of contempt, who his source was. This would join the one important constitutional issue in the Schorr Affair, as opposed to the personal and professional questions involved in his decision secretly to transmit the already pillaged Pike Report to Clay

Felker. Now, ironically, because of the House's increasing coolness toward the investigation, this is the one argument which may never be heard in the Daniel Schorr case.

Writing in *The New York Review of Books*, I. F. Stone made what seems to me the most sensible observation on the behavior of journalism in the Pike episode. "At the time of the leak," he wrote, "*The New York Times* and CBS were not giving the public information that would otherwise have been suppressed. They were merely getting the report in advance of their competitors. At that point, their news stories were a beat, not a public service." Lest this citation seem self-serving, I hasten to say that I would have expected my own newspaper, *The Washington Post*, to have followed the same course had it first gotten access to the Pike Report.

Perhaps the real lesson of the Schorr case is that we are

Does Congress have a legal case against Schorr?

If Daniel Schorr becomes subject to prosecution for his role in leaking the Pike Report to *The Village Voice*, it will almost certainly not be for having revealed national-security secrets. Congress has no power to punish outsiders for revealing its secrets. Punishment could rest only on existing criminal statutes. The general espionage statutes — which protect "national defense information" from being disclosed or gathered with intent to harm the United States, or with reason to believe that the U.S. would be harmed, or a foreign country advantaged (sections 793 and 794) — have never been used to punish a journalist or publisher. They have been used only to punish spies, who act, of course, without the purpose of informing the American people. (Harold Edgar and I discussed the history of these statutes in the March/April *Review*.) In view of the broad language of the espionage statutes, however, it is not far-fetched to suspect that journalists might be subject to their provisions.

But the legislative background of the broad sections points to a rather clear intent on the part of the Congresses which adopted them *not* to include journalists and publishers. Moreover, the courts have held that the broad espionage provisions do not cover information that has been made public, even in the context of cloak-and-dagger spying. It is inconceivable that the Justice Department would choose the Schorr affair, with all its First Amendment complexities and, in view of the fact that most of the hard information in the Pike Report had already been published, as the first case in which to test whether the broad espionage statutes can be applied to journalists. And, of course, neither the House nor the Senate has the power to initiate a prosecution under a federal criminal statute.

The much narrower statute that prohibits the disclosure of classified communications intelligence information (section 798 of Title 18) is more likely to cover reporters and publishers, but it doesn't fit the Schorr case very well. The heart of section 798 seeks to protect highly secret cryptographic information — coding devices, code-breaking methods,

transmission techniques, electronic interceptions, and so forth. Presumably, the Pike Report reveals no cryptographic information directly, and even if it did so indirectly, Schorr would have some statutory defenses. Section 798 requires that one "knowingly and willfully" has revealed protected communications intelligence information. Moreover, the fact that the information had already been made public would also be a defense.

Even if the espionage statutes were somehow stretched in an attempt to reach Schorr, he would still have a powerful defense on First Amendment grounds. The First Amendment surely imparts, at the least, a balancing defense if the current espionage statutes are ever used to prosecute journalists. Any reporter or publisher would have the right to show that the dissemination of information was more beneficial to public debate than harmful to national security. Schorr could bolster this argument by citing the Pike committee's own belief that the report should be published.

Schorr's most serious legal problem from Congress is the possibility of a contempt citation from the House of Representatives for refusing to disclose his source. Whether Schorr could constitutionally be punished, if he is asked by the House Committee on Standards and Ethics to disclose his source and he refuses, involves murky areas of constitutional law.

First, let's look at Schorr's First Amendment claim of the right to protect his source, assuming that all other legal requirements for punishing him for contempt are satisfied. The Supreme Court's *Branzburg* decision of 1972, which denied reporters a First Amendment privilege not to disclose their confidential sources to grand juries investigating possible criminal conduct, does not mean necessarily that Schorr would be denied a privilege. For one thing, *Branzburg* involved requests for information related to criminal activity. Here, the investigation would be directed to providing background information for leak-plugging

all victims of a competitive ethic which disregards the public interest by regarding news as a commodity and a congressional document as a product. But the Pike Report was not a document that could be summarized in a series of headlines; it was the by-product of a shifting adversary struggle between a majority and minority on the House Intelligence Committee and between that majority and the national security establishment. The media, by their helter-skelter behavior in trying to follow the lead of CBS and *The New York Times*, cheated the public of a serious examination of the report and the important arguments over national secrecy which were reflected in it.

The leaking of the Pike Report provided Secretary of State Kissinger with a bludgeon to belabor Congress for trifling with national security. But, paradoxically, it was Kissinger himself who threw away the central issue of his

legislation or internal House rules. The Supreme Court made much in *Branzburg* of the societal importance of criminal-law enforcement. And the Court was closely divided, 5-4, with Justice Powell providing a very tentative fifth vote for the majority. The present Court might find the House's investigative interest in Schorr's sources less compelling. A second possible reason that Schorr might not be required to disclose the identity of his sources would be that the committee could pursue its function of advising the House on possible legislation if Schorr merely revealed the nature of his sources (was it a member of the Pike committee, a staff member, a person within the executive branch, within the C.I.A. itself, as I.F. Stone has speculated, or another journalist?) without revealing the source's identity. A third possible ground on which to distinguish this case from *Branzburg*, and thereby protect Schorr's refusal to disclose, would be that alternative, non-journalistic sources for the information are more readily available here than in the typical criminal investigation.

The notion that Schorr will have to rely eventually on *Branzburg* defenses assumes that all other preconditions for a contempt prosecution have been met. This would probably require, in addition to a committee and House vote to cite Schorr for contempt, that the Justice Department and a federal grand jury would have to return an indictment for violation of the federal statute making it a crime to refuse to answer questions properly put to witnesses by congressional committees. Traditionally, each house has the power to impose punishment directly on persons in contempt of its authority (by locking the person up somewhere in the Capitol building, for example). But this power has not been used since the 1850s, and I doubt that the courts (or the public) would stomach such direct legislative punishment today.

BENNO C. SCHMIDT, JR.

Benno C. Schmidt, Jr. is a professor of law at Columbia University's School of Law.

secrecy crusade by authorizing a massive leak of classified information to free-lance writer Edward Sheehan for an article in *Foreign Policy* magazine. Sheehan's piece extolled Kissinger's diplomatic skills in negotiating a Middle East cease-fire agreement in 1973. But the timing of the article's appearance — it came out at the height of the furor over the Pike Report leak — was so excruciating for the secretary of state that he was obliged to go into a public tantrum, either real or simulated, and threaten the job of his dutiful deputy, assistant secretary for Near-Eastern affairs Alfred L. Atherton, for cooperating with Sheehan.

The pity of the affair is that Dan Schorr through the years has been giving CBS what it wants — impact on the air. He combined both the strengths and weaknesses of investigative journalism, a discipline in which American network television does not excel these days. In this respect, Schorr embodied the tradition started by Edward R. Murrow (another Black Rock casualty) two decades ago. Schorr's muckraking on the health, education, and welfare beat, to which he was consigned after returning from abroad in the mid-1960s, made him something of a folk hero on television news. Yet in carrying out the network's mandate Schorr has at times fallen into habits of sloppy sensationalism. One famous example was his indiscriminate airing of charges that Alexander Butterfield was the C.I.A.'s "contact officer" in the White House. It is interesting to see how in his lengthy diary published by *Rolling Stone* Schorr relates the Butterfield episode without troubling to make one serious professional or personal reflection about it. His behavior is almost like that of a prizefighter who has fouled an opponent and is watching him being carried to a corner. "I wish we lived in a risk-free profession," Schorr told *Newsweek* recently, "but you can't win them all."

CBS has chosen to reward Schorr's service with intimations of dismissal. There have been demands from the networks affiliates for Schorr's scalp. "In order . . . not to prejudice the important principles involved in the acquisition, and reporting on, the report, we shall postpone further CBS News action relating to Mr. Schorr until all government proceedings have been resolved," CBS News president Richard S. Salant said on February 23. Salant also said that "we will fully support Mr. Schorr against attempts to require him to reveal the source through which he obtained the report. These aspects of the matter involve fundamental issues of press freedom." (CBS is paying the salary of Washington attorney Joseph Califano to handle these issues.) As regards Schorr's transmission of the Pike Report to Felker, Salant recently said, "That is something we're going to have to think about carefully — afterwards."

From on high the oracles of Black Rock have spoken. They will pay the lawyer to keep Dan Schorr out of jail. But he awaits punishment under a different code of accountability — the law of William Paley, the caliph.

If Congress now denies Schorr even the transitory glory of his First Amendment test, he will be cheated of all but the final humiliation his boss may choose to inflict upon him as punishment.

No. You can't win them all.

SOURCE GUIDE

AN AID TO FINDING INFORMATION

The environment today

Whatever happened to the environmental movement? Six years ago, the deteriorating ecosphere dominated the headlines. Intense lobbying efforts on the part of environmentalists resulted in enactment by Congress of the National Environmental Policy Act, which created the Environmental Protection Agency. But in the intervening years, energy and economics have overshadowed the environment; they have also been cited as reasons to delay imposing tougher environmental standards.

Although major legislative battles remain over such questions as non-returnable bottles, strip mining, and automobile emissions, enforcement, more than legislation, is the new focus. The action has shifted to the executive branch. A bewildering array of new regulations pepper the Federal Register almost daily, and this guide is intended as a map through the administrative tangle.

ORGANIZATIONS

American Petroleum Institute

1801 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20006; (202) 833-5744. The primary lobbying organization of the oil industry. Collects and distributes reams of statistical and other information.

Atomic Industrial Forum

475 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 725-8300. Strong advocates of nuclear power; trade association of the nuclear power industry.

Center for Science in the Public Interest

1779 Church St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 332-6000. Public interest group of scientists active in energy, pollution, food, and other issues.

Conservation Foundation

1717 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 265-8882. Con-



Rapho

ducts research, education, and information programs.

Council for Environmental Balance

P.O. Box 7732, Louisville, Ky. 40207. A group of professors and others who think environmentalists have gone too far and should be brought back into line. Also has many articles and reprints it distributes free; operates a speakers bureau.

Edison Electric Institute

90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; (212) 573-8700. The investor-owned electric utilities' equivalent of the American Petroleum Institute.

Environmental Action

1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 833-1845. Emphasizes political, social, and legal action.

Environmental Defense Fund

162 Old Town Rd., East Setauket, N.Y. 11733; (516) 751-5191; also has offices in Denver, Washington, New York City, and Berkeley. Public interest law firm with strong scientific staff.

Environmental Policy Center

324 C St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 547-6500. Monitors and tries to influence congressional and administrative actions.

Friends of the Earth

529 Commercial St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111; (415) 391-4270; 620 C St.

SE, Washington, D.C. 20003; (202) 543-4312. Lobbies and litigates on issues like nuclear power, alternate energy sources, air and water pollution, law enforcement, and park and wildlife preservation.

National Audubon Society

950 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 832-3200. Specializes in wildlife conservation and environmental education.

National Coal Association

1130 17th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 628-4322. Chief coal industry trade association. Strong advocates of strip mining and increased coal use in cities.

Natural Resources Defense Council

15 West 44th St., New York, N.Y. 10036; (212) 869-0150; also has offices in Palo Alto, Calif., and Washington, D.C. Public interest law firm; undertakes much environmental litigation.

Resources for the Future

1755 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 462-4400. Does extensive research into environmental economics and policy.

Sierra Club

530 Bush St., San Francisco, Calif. 94108; (415) 981-8634; many regional offices. Publishes books; has legal defense fund; operates international and Washington offices; organizes outings.

FEDERAL AGENCIES

Note: All addresses and phone numbers are in Washington, D.C. (202 area code) unless otherwise noted; most also have regional offices in major cities.

Environmental Protection Agency

401 M St. SW; 755-2673; press, 755-0344; public affairs, 755-0700. Responsible for most programs related to air and water pollution, solid waste management, pesticides, and noise, as well as some radiation functions. Among its more useful free publications: *The Challenge of the Environment: A Primer on EPA's Statutory Authority*; *Action for*

Environmental Quality: Standards and Enforcement for Air and Water Pollution Control; Finding Your Way Through EPA; and Don't Leave It All to the Experts: The Citizen's Role in Environmental Decision-Making.

Council on Environmental Quality

722 Jackson Place NW, 382-1415. Small agency within executive office of the president; advises president, conducts research, publishes many reports.

Department of Agriculture

Forest Service, Independence Ave. & 12th St. SW; 655-4000. Administers National Forests and National Grasslands. Soil Conservation Service, same address and phone. Soil and water conservation activities.

Department of Commerce

National Oceanic & Atmospheric Administration, 6010 Executive Blvd., Rockville, Md., (202) 656-4060. Weather and coastal zone research; enforces Marine Mammal Protection Act.

Department of Defense

Army Corps of Engineers, Forrestal Bldg.; 693-6456. Responsible for most water resources project construction, and water pollution permits.

Department of Health, Education & Welfare

National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, 5333 Westbard Ave., Bethesda, Md., (202) 656-4000. Identification of how the environment affects health.

Department of the Interior

Bureau of Land Management, C & 18th Sts. NW, 343-1100. Administers public domain lands. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, same address, 343-7777. Helps fund and operate recreational areas. Bureau of Reclamation, same address, 343-4662. Administers water resources programs in western states. National Park Service, same address, 343-1100. Runs national parks.

Department of Transportation

U.S. Coast Guard, 400 7th St. SW; 655-4000. Collects oceanographic and meteorological data. Federal Aviation Administration, 800 Independence Ave. SW; 655-4000. Research into aircraft noise. Federal Highway Administration, 400 7th St. SW; 426-0677. Highway noise research. Urban Mass Transportation Administration, 400 7th St. SW; 426-4011. Develops low-pollution bus and rail technology.

Federal Energy Administration

12th St. & Pennsylvania Ave. NW; (202) 393-6400. Allocates fuel, runs energy conservation programs. Also operates National Energy Information Center, 961-8685.

LAWS

These are some of the most important federal environmental laws, together with the agencies charged with implementing them. Unless otherwise noted, copies of the actual laws, or more detailed summaries, may be obtained free from the Environmental Protection Agency.

Clean Air Act, 1970

Regulates harmful emissions from stationary sources like power plants and factories, and from mobile sources like automobiles; permits controls on traffic and urban growth to meet clean air standards. EPA enforces the law.

Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act, as amended in 1972

Requires EPA to certify safety and efficacy of pesticides, and requires their registration and proper labeling; restricts certain pesticides for use only by certified applicators, and allows prohibition of some pesticides altogether. EPA charged with implementation.

Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments, 1972

Provides for billions of dollars in construction grants to help local govern-

ments build sewage treatment plants; sets phased clean-up program with "goal" of no discharges of pollutants into nation's waters by 1985; requires EPA to set interim effluent guidelines for industry; requires polluters to obtain permits; gives EPA emergency powers to go to court to stop polluters. EPA and the Army Corps of Engineers jointly responsible for enforcement.

Marine Protection, Research and Sanctuaries Act, 1972

Requires permits for ocean dumping; bans dumping of certain highly toxic substances; establishes marine sanctuaries. EPA, Corps of Engineers, Coast Guard, and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration enforce the law.

National Environmental Policy Act, 1969

Requires that a detailed statement analyzing the likely environmental impact be prepared for every major federal action significantly affecting the environment; declares a national policy to protect the environment. Council on Environmental Quality charged with implementation.

Noise Control Act, 1972

Requires EPA to set noise standards for new construction, transportation, and other equipment. EPA and Federal Aviation Administration oversee enforcement.

Safe Drinking Water Act, 1974

Calls for national standards for the quality of drinking water to protect health,

Fishermen undeterred and undistracted by even the sudsiest water pollution



Photo Researchers

taste, odor, and appearance; encourages states to enforce the standards and to supervise public water supply systems and sources. EPA responsible for enforcement.

Solid Waste Disposal Act, 1965

Stimulates research into recovering useful resources from waste materials; calls for guidelines for the collection, transportation, separation, recovery and disposal of solid waste; provides technical, financial, and training assistance. EPA enforces the law.

PERIODICALS

Conservation Report

National Wildlife Federation, 1412 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (weekly) free. Summarizes major issues, federal bills, upcoming congressional hearings. Essential for political coverage.

Environment

Scientists' Institute for Public Information, 438 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63130, (monthly) \$10. Very strong on the technical side of issues, but written for the educated layman.

Environmental Action

Environmental Action, Suite 731, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (bi-weekly) \$10. Excellent coverage of legislative and administrative actions, and articles about upcoming issues. Marginally countercultural.

Environmental News

Mrs. Darla Cornell, EPA Office of Public Affairs (A-107), Second Floor, West Tower, 401 M St. SW, Washington, D.C. 20460, (202) 755-0872; free to reporters. EPA press releases; several times weekly.

Environmental Newsletter

Environmental Resource Center, University of Wisconsin-Extension, 9722 W. Watertown Plank Rd., Milwaukee, Wis. 53266; (monthly) free. Summaries of important articles in a wide range of journals and magazines.

National News Report

Sierra Club, 530 Bush St., San Francisco, Calif. 94108; (weekly) \$10. Brief summaries of environmental bills and actions in Washington and around the country.

Public Utilities Fortnightly

Public Utilities Reports, Suite 502, 1828 L St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (biweekly) \$30. The chief magazine of

the electric utilities industry, one of the environmentalists' main targets. It presents the other side of the story.

The Environment Monthly

284 Alexander Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10454; (monthly) \$35. Excellent digest of current environmental news. Somewhat closer to the corporate viewpoint than most other ecology publications.

Science

American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1515 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; (weekly) \$50. "News and Comment" section has good coverage of the way environmental laws are written and administered. It is also the place where many significant new research findings are first published.

Sierra Club Bulletin

Sierra Club, 530 Bush St., San Francisco, Calif. 94108; (monthly) \$5. Official voice of the leading conservation organization with good general articles.

BOOKS

A Clear View

James Cannon, INFORM, 25 Broad St., New York, N.Y. 10004, 1975; \$4 plus fifty cents postage and handling. A first-rate, comprehensive explanation of pollution's origins, effects, and control, with chapters on where to obtain detailed information on any community's or factory's problems. Many useful names and addresses.

Conservation Directory — 1976

National Wildlife Federation, 1412 16th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; (paper) \$3.00. Complete listing of major environmental groups and public agencies in every state, as well as national and international organizations.

The Doomsday Syndrome

John Maddox, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1972; \$6.95 (hardback), \$2.95 (paper). An attack on the environmental movement.

The Economics of Environmental Policy

A. Myrick Freeman III, Robert H. Haveman, and Allen V. Kneese, Wiley, New York, 1973; \$4.75 (paper). Good general introduction to the subject.

Ecological Fantasies

Cy A. Adler, Dell, New York, 1974; \$2.95 (paper). Argues that many complaints of environmentalists are folly.

Energy, Ecology, Economy

Gerald Garvey, Norton, New York, 1972; \$2.75 (paper). Most environmental problems come from the use of energy, and this book shows why.

Environmental Quality — 1975

Sixth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality. Stock Number 040-000-00337-1 from Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402; \$16.60 (paper). The best single reference volume on environmental issues, trends, data, and laws; updated annually.

Federal Environmental Monitoring Directory

Council on Environmental Quality, 1973. Stock Number 4111-0016, Government Printing Office; \$.80 (paper). Where to go for figures on pollution, population, resources, etc.

Growth and Its Implications for the Future — Part I

U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Merchant Marine & Fisheries, 1973. Stock Number 5270-01887, Government Printing Office; \$4.50 (paper). Contains the full text of the famous *Limits to Growth* report and many other studies and articles on this important issue.

Man & His Environment: Citizen Action

Odom Fanning, Harper & Row, New York, 1975; \$4.95 (paper). Summarizes local and national citizen action for environmental quality.

The Politics of Environmental Concern

Walter A. Rosenbaum, Praeger, New York, 1973; \$3.95 (paper). A political scientist's perspective.

To Live on Earth

Sterling Brubaker, Mentor, New York, 1972; \$1.50 (paper). Good general introduction to the broad range of environmental issues.

Two Cheers for Economic Society: A Spirited Defense of Economic Growth

Wilfrid Beckerman, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1975; \$7.95. Opposes the view that society must wind down to save itself.

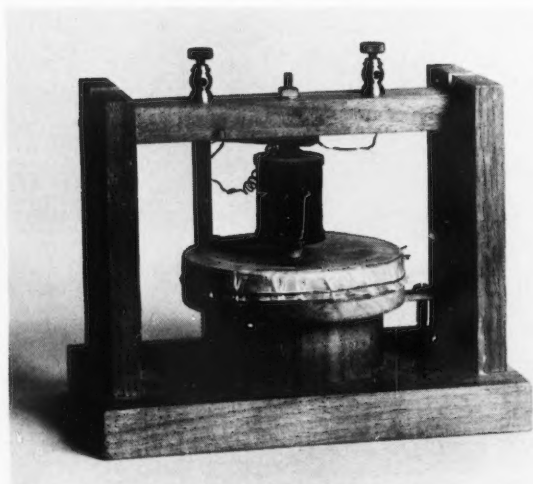
MICHAEL GERRARD

Michael Gerrard, a former newspaper reporter and policy analyst for the Mayor's Council on the Environment of New York City, is a Root-Tilden Scholar at the New York University Law School.

One of a series of reports on the first hundred years of the telephone.

Now that you've invented the telephone, Professor Bell, how can you make it so people can afford it?

Alexander Graham Bell's fingers were all thumbs in mechanical matters. He had a sensitive ear, an original mind, and a deep knowledge of speech and hearing. These assets enabled him to invent the telephone "mentally." But translating the concept into a working model required mechanical gifts he did not possess. And manufacturing telephones for use by the public posed still other problems.



Alexander Graham Bell's first telephone

To be fair, very few people had any experience fabricating electrical devices in 1873, when Bell began the investigations that led to the telephone. Samuel F.B. Morse's telegraph, invented in 1835, was the only important commercial use yet made of electricity. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology was only 14 years old. Thomas Edison's electric light was still some years in the future.

In the United States, some of the most concentrated work on new applications of electricity was being done in the workshop of Charles Williams, Jr. at 109 Court Street, Boston. Inventors including Edison took their ideas to Williams, who translated them into working models—or more often, into models that did not work.

Bell sought Williams' aid in 1874. The helper assigned to him in January 1875 was Thomas A. Watson, aged 20. Bell was 27. The two complemented each other marvelously. Watson



Thomas A. Watson

had his own sort of genius—for the practical business of putting together metal and wood and glass to form devices that would do what he wanted. The collaboration between the two men produced, on March 10, 1876, that famous first telephone call: "Mr. Watson, come here. I want to see you."

Bell foresaw a time when telephone service would link the cities of the world. But that required vast improvements in the telephone and in telephone connections. The newborn Bell Telephone Company set out to make those improvements. Watson hired two assistants, and began what would be called today a research and development

program. He made the experimental phone sturdier, and devised a hand-cranked magneto to ring a bell. Williams began manufacturing Watson's designs. The invention's financial backers organized telephone companies in various cities, raised additional capital, and hired a General Manager, Theodore N. Vail.



The Western Electric Manufacturing Co., Chicago 1881

By 1879 demand for telephones exceeded the capacity of Williams' shop. Manufacturers in Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Baltimore were licensed to make telephones under the Bell patents. More were needed. One company in Chicago had gained considerable expertise in making telegraph equipment. Years later, Watson reminisced, "When a piece of equipment built by Western Electric came into our shop...we always used to admire the superlative excellence of the workmanship." In 1881, Bell Telephone acquired a controlling interest in Western Electric, and in 1882 made that company the manufacturer of Bell equipment.

This arrangement was desirable for a number of reasons. Western Electric workmanship improved the quality of voice reproduction by telephone, a step essential to winning wide public acceptance of the new invention. It ensured reliability. When repairs were needed, standardized parts from Western Electric made for speedy restoration of service. A fourth

advantage concerned the evolving nationwide network: a single manufacturer could see to it that telephone equipment throughout the country would work together compatibly, thus assuring the "interconnectedness" of the network—its capability of connecting any two phones.

The Engineering Department of Western Electric joined in the search for telephone improvements. Managers of local companies made suggestions based on day-to-day experience with customers. Outside inventors worked out refinements. Bell Telephone management weighed all the ideas, in terms of value to customers and practicality in manufacture. The best ideas were incorporated into the phones being made.

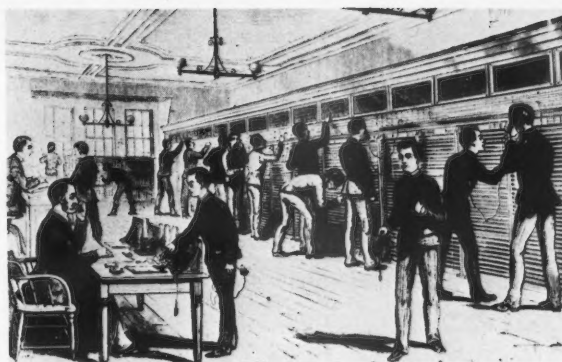
Organizational "feedback"—the subtle flow of engineering information and understanding within a technologically oriented enterprise—was a novel concept in those days. But the young telephone industry had already achieved a union of the successive stages of effort essential to the development of a coherent telephone system. Today Bell Laboratories is responsible for research and development. Western Electric looks for—and finds—better ways to make things. The 23 regional Bell companies provide telephone service and report back their needs and the needs of their customers. And American Telephone and Telegraph Company management provides overall coordination and guidance. Some of the names are different, but the functions had been established by 1882.

Vertical integration is one name economists give to this form of corporate organization. In a typical case, raw materials change to finished product with suc-

cessive stages of manufacture integrated under one company. For example, a printing company might own paper mills and even its own forests. But there is a difference, because the Bell company was not, and is not, primarily a manufacturer of products. From the beginning, the partners in the enterprise—whether engaged in invention or manufacture or operations—sold telephone service, not telephone equipment.

For instance, there was the fundamental item of connecting the lines of two subscribers who wanted to talk. This was handled in central offices by a corps of operators, using cords, plugs and jacks. Setting up a call could take as long as seven minutes. In 1884, Ezra T. Gilliland, working for the Bell company, devised a mechanical system that would allow a subscriber to reach up to 15 lines without the help of an operator. In 1891, Almon B. Strowger, a Kansas City undertaker, patented a dial machine constructed in a round collar box. It connected up to 99 lines. But the big city offices already handled thousands of lines, and the numbers were growing rapidly. The connection problem was growing much more rapidly, because of some basic geometry: it takes one line to interconnect two telephones, three lines for three telephones, six lines for four, 28 lines for eight, and 4,851 lines for 99 telephones. In connections, added telephones were just the opposite of “cheaper by the dozen.”

The Bell company set out to develop a machine that would connect any of 10,000 telephones—49,995,000 possible connections. The search was costly, but necessary for continued good service, and the various parts of the company joined to pursue it to a successful conclusion. (Today in the



Young men manually connecting phone calls in 1879

United States a telephone can be connected to any of 140 million others. There are 10 quadrillion—10 million billion—possible connections.)

There was also the problem of financing the nationwide conversion of central offices to dial. Service improvements on the scale required are enormously expensive—so expensive as to be impossible without the most careful attention to economy. Here again the integrated corporate structure shows its values. Western Electric, because its prime objective is to benefit telephone service, has become a world champion in cost control, and a pacesetter in the improvement of productivity. Data issued by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics show that overall the productivity of the telephone industry has increased by 50% since 1965. That is two and a half times the productivity increase in the United States economy as a whole.

Savings of that sort continue, as a recent example shows. Bell scientists, building on the semiconductor research that helped them invent the transistor, also aided in the development of the light-emitting diode or LED. These solid-state lamps, now familiar as displays in pocket calculators and watches, can replace incandescent lamps in many pieces of telephone

equipment. They will last the lifetime of the phone, operate with much less electrical power, and help hold down the cost of installation and maintenance. Over the next five years, LEDs should save the Bell System about \$120 million. Bell Labs semiconductor research also resulted in the invention of another solid-state light source, the tiny semiconductor laser.

Future uses of these solid-state light sources may be even more important than today's. They will almost certainly be used



For the nation's future communications needs, Bell engineers are today developing systems to transmit telephone calls on lightwaves.

in systems transmitting telephone calls and other communications over lightwaves. Lightwave communications could mean an enormous increase in the capacity of the phone network, making it possible to meet the need for increased call volumes and new communications services economically in the years ahead. And to do it while conserving energy and scarce raw materials.

Innovation, productivity, advance planning—all mean improved service and reasonable costs. And in the telephone

industry, cost savings benefit not only shareholders; they are passed along to the public as well.

In the decade 1965-1975, the cost of living rose 74%. Telephone rates for local service went up only 40%. And interstate long distance rates went up about 4%. Now 95% of all American homes have telephones. The quality of the service is the envy of the world.

Numerous studies have been made of the role of the Bell organizational structure in achieving those results. One of the most recent, concluded in 1974, was made by the independent auditing and management consulting firm of Touche, Ross & Co., acting as consultants for the staff of the Federal Communications Commission. According to their report:

"Western Electric's efficient performance has resulted in lower costs than otherwise would have been incurred. Because of Western's pricing policies and practices, these lower costs have not increased profits, but have been passed on to operating companies in the form of lower prices...The effect of the interrelationship between Bell and Western Electric is to operate Western, not as a manufacturing concern, but as an integral part of a vertically integrated communications firm. These interrelationships result in a favorable impact upon Western's costs, prices and service to operating companies."

The best telephone service in the world didn't just happen. It was planned that way.

One Bell System. It works.



Bell System



Red Wing captain Ted Lindsay kisses the Stanley Cup after the Detroit team won the trophy in the 1954 playoff.

THE GAME'S THE THING: a defense of sports as ritual

A professor of religion
looks at the new
sports reporters — and finds
some are false prophets

by MICHAEL NOVAK

Years ago, the sports pages were the best-written, liveliest, and most informative about the many cultures of this nation of all the pages in the paper. The writers, or at least a good share of them, were poets, lyricists, modest craftsmen. They delighted in the nation and its variety; they loved their beat. Such love is at the heart of any form of art. It forms a secret bond between

Michael Novak teaches religious studies and writes frequently on the media. This article is adapted from his forthcoming book, The Joy of Sports: End Zones, Bases, Baskets, Balls, and the Consecration of American Spirits.

the artist and his audience. Behind the words in newsprint on the page lay a secret bond of understanding. Readers met the writers in their hearts.

Back then, one waited for terse accounts of great games or great fights by teletype. Line by line they came — bare, stark, to the point. Knowing the games and how the players looked and moved, the men gathered around the local teletype, animation rising and falling, as in their heads they re-created every action, every deed.

On the radio in the past, hearing the play-by-play, one learned to love the basic accuracy and the single bare detail that lifted the imagination. Late for a football game at Notre Dame, I once heard the first half on the car radio. The terse verbal images, the cadences of mounting excitement, the use of the half-minute between plays to feed the imagination with details about the substitutions, tempo, and mood, reminded me of how objective and to the point sports broadcasting used to be — still is, where television is not watched. There was no pretense that sports is entertainment. One got the basic liturgy, the essential drama.

That one received it through an eyewitness whose skills and perception one had some reason to doubt, no two wit-

Television has made cowards out of many sportswriters, entertainers out of many broadcasters, and a shambles out of the religion of sports

nesses being the same, did not detract from the essential focus of the experience: on the game itself. Perhaps things never happened on the field exactly as Bill Stern, or Rosie Rosewell, used to call them. Carrying a portable radio to the game, one could see with one's own eyes that "racing back on the warning track" might, or might not, threaten the outfielder with the crash into the wall that the broadcaster seemed to suggest. But excitement in the voice of the broadcaster also helped one to see even what in the park one's own eyes "saw" — added form, added consistency, supplied a context for comparison. All the more so when one wasn't present. Not for nothing have millions of men had fantasies of broadcasters' voices in their ears as they practiced shooting baskets, or even weaving through traffic: "... three seconds left to play, one point behind, Bradley shoots, it's up, it's good! ... He's to the thirty, gets one block, sidesteps the safety man, he's to the twenty, only one man has a shot at him now, the ten, the five, he's over! Touchdown, Olivieri! ...". Even the great Bill Bradley, practicing his shots "around the horn," hour by hour, disciplining himself to make ten out of thirteen from every spot before he moved to another, broadcast his own game with his own lips, cheering himself on, in isolation, in Crystal River, Missouri.

The advent of television has made cowards out of many sportswriters, mere chatty, fatuous, and complacent entertainers out of many broadcasters, and a shambles out of the religion of sports. It is true that television has given us enormous pleasures, and taught us to watch the games with new eyes. The "instant replay" has helped us to freeze the

instantaneous ballet of a runner's moves; but it has also rendered the unaided eye weak and undisciplined at a real game. It is harder to concentrate in the stadium. The game looks totally different there. One regains one's peripheral vision. One doesn't have to peer through the limits of the television box, subject to the judgments of a producer about which camera angle shows which portion of the play. One sees the whole. How large it is!

One feels, in a stadium, present at a liturgy, at a kind of worship service where delight and fun are proper decorum. There is a sense of presence. Smells, touches, discomforts, the sweat and heaving of one's fellow spectators give one the sense of flesh, humanity, and actuality. At home, pleased as one is to settle back and watch the vivid color in contemplative enjoyment, there is, rather, the feeling of being a *voyeur*; one feels a kind of distance and detachment. To be sure, the power of the drama itself is often so intense that one is drawn "into" the game. One's living room, hotel room, or bar becomes an arena of its own. One cheers, yells, groans, gets up and walks around, whoops, hollers.

Between the moments of high drama, however, the broadcasters go back to being entertainers. The game is not allowed to speak for itself. Instead of the steady beat of the radio voice, there is the mindless chatter of a late-night talk show, a Johnny Carson in a jock. Everything one loathes about the entertainment ethic now obtrudes itself in places where respect is called for. Blessed are they who can listen to the radio while watching the plays on silent television. I seldom find a television broadcaster suited to the demands of sport. The tolerable voices among them would be Frank Gifford, who understands and has accurate sympathies for the ritual he is faithful to; Vince Scully when he is covering the Dodgers (but not at other times); and Curt Gowdy, who is endurable when he does not overpraise or gild or give us pieties. What I admire is a workmanlike performance that allows the game to come to me itself. The announcers are far too conscious of themselves, watching Liz Taylor and Doris Day gaining on them over their shoulders, thinking they have to please us with their (God forbid) personalities. *I do not want to be entertained.* I want to experience the event.

Howard Cosell, on the other hand, stresses the primacy of entertainment. In *Like It Is*, he explains that ABC had to attract thirty million viewers and that each paragraph he spoke needed to earn back "\$100,000 a minute." Covering sports on television was big business, a risk; it had to compete, and it had to succeed. Cosell's reply to his critics was: "ABC will not be like the others. We'll be number one because we make football entertaining."

Because they establish a level of patter — and what Cosell calls the "chemistry" of interaction — the sportscasters trap themselves in banality; they cannot rise to the level of the high drama right before their eyes. When nothing is happening, they chatter on. When something happens, they can't escape their chatter. Their voices may get louder. Their exclamations are not different from our own. Where the radio broadcaster must describe what happened, carrying its inherent dramatic power, the television broadcaster says: "Did you see that! Did you see that!"

Dodger Jackie Robinson upsets Yankee shortstop Phil Rizzuto in the sixth game of the 1947 World Series.



Wide World

They have a naive faith in the human eye. Among the millions of bombardments the eye receives each second, it needs to know *which* to fasten on. The function of a broadcaster is to give us form. But the television people have forgotten form. They do not trust the power of the word.

Television has brought millions participation, but it has also distorted what we share. The fault lies not in the technology, but in the conception of many of the sports directors, producers, and sportscasters. They boast endlessly about their skills. The self-hawking of television is revolting. A particularly disgusting point was reached in 1975 when ABC used sports shows to shill for Howard Cosell's extracurricular career as the emcee of a variety show. Nothing better showed the corruption of sports by entertainment than this transition of Cosell's; having turned football into television entertainment, he moved by inexorable logic to what he may have really wanted all along. To argue, as Cosell does, that this shilling is made necessary by money already invested and by the pressures of competition is the oldest excuse for corruption known to history.

Were television to govern its approach to sports by the nature of sports, rather than by the canons of entertainment, the technology available could do the job. For dozens of years, sports did not bore Americans. Television sports have begun to bore. Iron laws of entertainment so decree.

The most damaging effect of television has been its enervation of newspaper writers and their editors. On occasion, one cannot see the televised game. Then it is almost impossible to find out in the papers the drama of the game itself. The writers take for granted that their readers have seen the game; they write about everything else. They have lost their faith in the power of the written word. For even when one *has* seen a game, either in the flesh or on the tube, the desire to read about it the next day is undiminished. Words direct the eye and heart. Words sort out diffuse impressions. Words contrive a permanent form for life.

The power of words is vaster than that of television. We need the sports pages to nudge the word back to the center of our culture. The time would seem to be right. The novelty of the silver screen is wearing off. One wearies of the parade of athletes, celebrities, and multiple broadcasters on the tube, just as one has long since grown weary of the faces of anchormen, experts, and politicians, who all begin to resemble one another. One hungers for words to sink one's imagination into. The game's the thing. One craves words about it.

A television sportscast is too close to the event to render an account of it as a single form. A contest is a drama, whose meaning is not clear until beginning, middle, and end are seen as one. The writer can bring back a portrait, complete, whole, whose end is included in its beginning, whose unfolding he can clearly see. The live camera cannot. And sportscasters are merely guessing in advance, or from the press box, precisely what will work, or is working on the field. The writer has a better opportunity to find out, and to make the conscious strategy part of his story.

On September 8, 1975, for example, Alabama met Mis-



Yogi Berra's three-run homer sails into the stands in the Yankees-White Sox game of June 19, 1951.

souri in a televised game. I was reading a biography of coach Bear Bryant that weekend, and for the first time gained a grasp of what Bear had been trying to do at Alabama and what his traditions at the school meant. The spring before, I had visited Missouri and had sharp images in my mind both of the campus on the plains, the relatively humble stadium there, and the faces of Missouri students. I knew a little of the function of the Missouri team in the state, and a little of its struggles toward greatness. For the first time in my life, my sympathies were very strongly with Alabama, which Bear seemed to hope might become his best team ever. One former Alabama player, now a coach in another league, said before the game that the Alabama team included the greatest talent ever assembled on one team in the South. Yet Missouri totally mastered Alabama. The frustrations of obviously excellent players were tangible; one wanted, almost, to reach out and help. I couldn't figure out exactly how Missouri was doing it. Two or three offensive plays they used seemed extraordinarily interesting; they worked with such brilliance I wanted to know the secret.

The next day, I looked in vain in the relatively long ac-

**When I read the sports page,
I'm not interested in big business,
wheeling and dealing, money; all
that belongs on the other, boring pages**

counts of the game in *The New York Times* and *Newsday* for an account of those plays, and of the defensive formations that kept Alabama contained as they had not been in five years. Gladly would I have exchanged a dozen articles on trades, analyses of financial conflicts, and organizational chit-chat about players' unions and corporate bosses, for intelligence about the strategic insights that dominated the actual play. A friend of mine in Alabama, blessedly, mailed me the sports page of the *Anniston Star*. There, precisely diagrammed, were the plays I wanted to know about. That is the sort of intelligent reporting one longs for in the press. Football is delightful because it bears such study. More is always happening than meets the eye. The players and the coaches, appearing for television interviews, have been intimidated by the entertainment format; they seldom get a chance to say abstractly and technically what we need to know — what they would tell their own observers in the booths above. Television, in its hunger to personalize the game, seldom deals with its abstract strategy, its formal design, its team execution. It gossips.

Yet not all the failings of sports reporters today are due to cowardice in the face of television. In at least two ways the writers, some of them at least, undercut themselves. Some of them believe that they are superior to those they cover; they believe it is their function to prick the bubble of illusion surrounding sports. One could therefore call them pricks. But Jimmy Cannon's gentler term, "chipmunks," from a singing group that specialized in mixing electronic sounds, is the one that has stuck. Some "chipmunks" would prefer to be working on some other section of the paper, covering financial or business news, or investigating politics. There is some plausibility to their new conception of sports reporting: the growth of sports as a plaything of millionaires, for example, badly needs to be investigated. Still, it seems astonishing to read writers who seem not to love their subject.

In early 1975, David Shaw of the *Los Angeles Times* wrote a page-one article of 129 column inches on the new sportswriting, praising his own paper's sports page as the best in the country, and lavishly commending its publisher and editors. He had warm enthusiasm for the new breed of sportswriters. He praised the "quality of their writing," their "questioning minds" and "master's degrees." According to Shaw, the movement started with Larry Merchant, Joe McGinniss, Jack McKinney, and George Kiseda at the *Philadelphia Daily News* in 1957. It has spread to the *Los Angeles Times* — but not to its opposition (Shaw emphasizes), the *Herald-Examiner* — to *Newsday*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and "only a few other sports sections in the United States now actively moving toward the level of those already mentioned": *The*

Washington Post, the *New York Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, *The Miami Herald*, and *The New York Times*. The new sportswriters have a "litmus test" for their side: how a writer covered Muhammad Ali, Joe Namath, and the early New York Mets. The good writers dealt with such men "on their own terms, as representatives of a new independence and self-awareness." The good guys saw that the early Mets weren't serious but a diversion, and the good guys "laughed sympathetically" with them. The way you laugh is important nowadays, even in sports.

It is astonishing to read Shaw's description of earlier sportswriting: "'Meat and potatoes' sportswriting, it was called, and it consisted almost solely of scores and statistics — batting averages, shooting percentages, earned-run averages, running yardage, passing percentages . . ." Shaw must not have gained his master's degrees in sportswriting history, or dipped into anthologies; for the older sportswriting was some of the most sociologically acute, colorful, lyrical, and biting in the history of journalism. What pleasure it affords to read collections of old clippings.

Shaw, however, was deeply moved by "the socio-political upheavals of the 1960s." He writes:

The times — and the nation's sports pages — they are a changin', and it is now no longer sufficient to write sports stories by the numbers . . . or by the clichés. The more sophisticated and literate reader of today's sports page wants to know more than what happened on the field. He also wants to know how it happened and why (or why not), as well as what may have happened before (or after) the event, in the locker room, the courtroom, the boardroom, and the bedroom.

Racism, drugs, sex, religion, gambling, exploitation, psychology, cheating, feminism, dress styles, violence, antitrust legislation — all these subjects, and many more, have been explored in detail on the sports pages in recent months.

Shaw lists several ways in which the new sportswriters are better than the old; to me, his claims sound either untrue or dismaying. The athlete is not romanticized, but "analyzed, criticized, and even condemned." The sporting event is not "treated as seriously as a holy crusade" but dealt with "lightly, humorously, sarcastically or scornfully." We now probe "the athlete's development as an individual, his relations with others (on and off the field) and his attitude toward a whole range of personal, political, and psycho-social issues." In addition, "Where once the sports pages contained some of the worst writing in the newspaper, now — on any given day — the best piece of pure writing in some very good newspapers might well be found on the sports page." Also, "the rooter as writer is a vanishing breed." Finally, "the biggest single change in sportswriting has been the coming of sociology to the sports page."

Shaw, above all, exalts his own group's new intellectual status. The sports department is no longer "the toy department . . . a sandbox peopled by the idiot children of journalism." The "new-breed sportswriter" is "socially and politically aware, motivated more by his own curiosity and need to write than by a love of sports for sports's sake." The greatest impetus to the new sportswriting, Shaw ad-

mits, however, is television. The "good" papers no longer re-create or analyze games; they look for "soft angles" not covered by television.

The new sportswriters do not actually write very well; only Roger Kahn — and he is not really one of them — writes with distinction. The late Leonard Shechter wrote with bite and wit, however, and his book is the fullest statement of the chipmunks' position to date. The title of his delightful, wry, and astringent book is itself an insult: *The Jocks*. He describes it as "a sports book by a man who hates sports." Hate, of course, is next to love, and infinitely to be preferred to indifference. Many a good book has had its origin in hate. Passionate attack is at least as important in writing as in football. What Shechter adds to hate are arrogance and contempt.

There is a virulent passion for debunking in the land, one of the consequences of the horrors of Vietnam, the sudden visibility of the depth of racism, and Watergate. In Shechter, as in others, however, the rage against sports seems overwrought, disproportionate, and off the mark. Sports are symbolic realities, but somehow in these writers sports begin to symbolize political evils. It is as though their rage against the nation, and perhaps against themselves, is misdirected into sports. They do not, by and large, distinguish clearly enough between the realm of the spirit acted out in sports and the impact of mass communications and commercial interests.

"Nowhere else in the world," Shechter writes, "is such a large portion of the population so consistently engaged in sports and games." One wonders. It is estimated that two billion persons saw the World Cup Championships in soccer in 1973, outside the United States. It offends him that 228 million Americans paid to attend major sports events in 1967. The figure sounds impressive until we average it out for a population of 210 million: paid attendance is approximately one per person every year. In 1973, by comparison, 112 million Americans visited a zoo. Only 35.9 million attended football games in 1967, according to Shechter; 34.7 million, baseball games; 22 million, basketball games. (These figures are for professional or college games.) Another 67.8 million went to the races. It dismays Shechter that sports have become "a monster, a sprawling five-billion-dollar-a-year industry." This is a large sum. Yet many industries are larger, including the print and broadcast media, the pet industry, and cosmetics. Out of a gross national product of almost \$3 trillion, \$5 billion does not seem disproportionate.

Shechter devotes most of his energy in *The Jocks* to every example of "the dump, the fix, the thrown game, the shaved points" he can find in the history of American sports. He adds little new evidence to familiar allegations, and lists few episodes that are not well known. His point is a good one. Wherever money is involved, it is best to be on guard. From his point of view, however, the public gets pitifully little from the hoopla. Sports yield, in his judgment, "a marvelous sense of the importance of the unimportant." His prose is passionate:

Around the simplicity which most of us want out of sports has grown a monster . . . which pretends to cater to our love for games



Dallas Cowboy Dan Reeves plunges into a thicket of New Orleans Saints in the Cotton Bowl in 1967.

but instead has evolved into that one great American institution: big business. Winning, losing, playing the game, all count far less than counting the money. The result is cynicism of the highest order. There is no business in the country which operates so cynically to make enormous profits on the one hand, while demanding to be treated as a public service on the other. . . . What we get, as opposed to what we think we get, is what this book is about. . . . It's about the cynicism of American sports. . . . It's about the newspapers and the newspapermen who shill for sports. It's about television, the conscienceless and ruthless partner of sports. It's about the spoiled heroes of sports, shiny on the outside, decaying with meanness underneath. It's about the greedy professionals and posturing amateurs, the crooks, the thieves, the knaves and the fools. These are not trivial things. Sports have a great and continuous impact on American life.

Shechter's passion for purity is a useful contribution. But how will it be executed? If it means that sportswriters will now become investigative reporters whose mission is to prove that men in sports are as venal as men outside of sports, we shall not learn much we don't already know.

The main business of a sportswriter is to describe what happened in athletic events. The contests themselves are the forms of his craft. Everything else is secondary, instrumental, and to be judged in that light. The business side of sports smells of rot; but the business side of sports should be reported on the business pages. The politics of sports are rotting, too; but the politics of sports belongs on the national or the city desk. Many of the stories about big money in sports — money made by teams or paid to individual players — are not true; they are exaggerated as part of the hype to attract attention. Nothing should be hidden; everything should be reported. *But not in the sports pages.*

When I read the sports page, I'm not interested in big business, wheeling and dealing, money; all that is part of the mundane world of everyday and belongs on the other,

boring pages of the paper, to be read from a sense of duty. On the sports page, I seek clear images of *what happened*, or, in advance, *what is likely to happen* in athletic contests. I expect guidance in learning afterwards exactly *how it happened*. I would like sports reporters to be, in this sense, better newsmen. I would like them to give probing, intelligent, and artistic accounts of the one world that here interests me: the events on the field. The essential craft of the sportswriter is mimetic: to recreate events, to imitate and to reveal their form, to catch new sides to their significance. The craft is more like that of the novelist or dramatist than like that of the investigative reporter.

It is important to our kind of civilization to keep sports as insulated as we can from business, entertainment, politics, and even gossip. Naturally, sports involve all these elements. But none of them should be permitted to obscure the struggle of body and spirit that is their center. The athletic contest has too much meaning for the human spirit to be treated with contempt. Our civilization needs sports, and it needs as well the skillful exercise of the sportswriter's craft. The narrative forms that recount athletic struggles supply millions with a sense of form. These forms express implicitly realities of law, fairness, effort, and spirit. Each of our major sports dramatizes a different myth. Each dramatizes forms of art and beauty and excellence precious to the human race.

Who, watching the sixth game of the World Series of 1975 in Boston's ancient and angular Fenway Park, as first the Cincinnati Reds and then the Boston Red Sox fought their way back from three-run deficits and battled for four hours with brilliant play after brilliant play — Lynn of Boston lying immobile after crashing his spine into the centerfield wall; Foster of Cincinnati throwing sharply from left field to make a bases-loaded double-play at the plate; Evans of Boston racing back to the seats in right in the eleventh to take away a certain home run; Fisk fighting the night breeze with his hands to pull his twelfth-inning homer far enough in-bounds to hit the foul-line pole and give Boston the victory 7-6 — who, watching this game, could not detect some of the main sources of our civilization's strength, acted out in ritual form? It is ponderous to put it this way; best if one drinks in the pleasure, imitates the attitudes, without too many words. But it is precisely in tacit and unspoken ritual forms that all religions have most effectively taught their hidden mysteries. The account of these rituals, in narrative form, is the main business of the sports page. It is being seriously neglected.

Without narrative forms, a culture flies apart; sorting out the relevant from the irrelevant becomes impossible; living loses zest. Life in its multiplicity overwhelms the brain. The function of religion, art — and sports — is to gird up perception with *form*: to show those in the midst of struggle what to look for. The opera, the play, the cinema, the short story, the ballet, the modern dance, wrest form from chaos. The forms of play *constitute* civilization; the forms of the free ("liberal" arts) give it shape. Without them, there is no civilization. Work alone does not give form; neither does politics. More radical than either, at the basis of culture, is play.

The forms of play, including the narrative forms crafted by sportswriters, are absorbed into the psyche, become *its* forms. They become forms through which other forms may be perceived. That is why games are so important. They expand, or limit, future possibilities. For this reason, above all, it is important to be vigilant over the corruptions and the range of sports. Standards of fair play, honesty, courage, scrappiness, law-abidingness, excellence, perfect execution, are dramatized in a baseball game, in football, and in basketball. These are standards difficult to meet in the contests themselves, in the industry that brings them to the public, and in the rest of life. As we have seen, these standards belong not to the players, who may not embody them, but to the inherent structure of the game. Without such standards in its ritual structure, a game could not be played; it would be meaningless. Without such standards in a culture, human beings could not complain of corruption or incompetence.

Sports are not a sufficient vocabulary of forms for a whole human life; but they are a fundament, a basic vocabulary, around which it is possible to build an ampler human structure. I have heard artists say, "Poetry is my whole life!" or, "Acting is my whole life!" Similarly, some athletes or coaches have said, "Football is my whole life." Such sentences are not to be taken literally; ordinarily they mean that every life has its finite work around which the rest of life centers. In choosing the centerpiece for one's life, one wants to choose a form that allows growth in other dimensions. A high proportion of athletic interest lies in self-knowledge and in insight into the psyches of others: many with the same skills do not play as well as others; inner struggles differ dramatically. So, too, do attitudes. Thus, many athletes and coaches find their work of absorbing interest. For others, athletics are just a job for a certain time in their lives. For most of us, they are part of our mythic world — nourishment for body, soul, and imagination.

They dramatize our sense of order. They show how the experience of defeat is a kind of death. They feed our lust for unfaked excellence. Sports are our nation's strongest forms of natural religion, inculcating discipline, a taste for perfection, and the experience of beautiful and perfect acts.

Writers on the sports page need to know that they are guardians of important treasures of the human spirit. Most of what Americans know about the humanistic traditions — about excellence in act, about discipline, about community, about the unity of body and will and spirit, etc. — they learn first-hand from their experiences in sport. More about the nature of reality is conveyed on the sports pages than in the smoke and puffery of the front pages. Sportswriters play a craft indispensable to the human spirit. They should try to grasp the heart of the dramatic conflict in each game (each game being different), to report the shifts in strategy and tactics, and to render in accurate poetic fashion the great acts of every game. The human spirit in our time is starved for good reporting of strong narrative forms. Sportswriters are story tellers. They should tell truthful yarns. Leave the gossip to the Suzies and the Earls and the Ronas of the land. Be Lardners, Hemingways, Saroyans. Be themselves. ■

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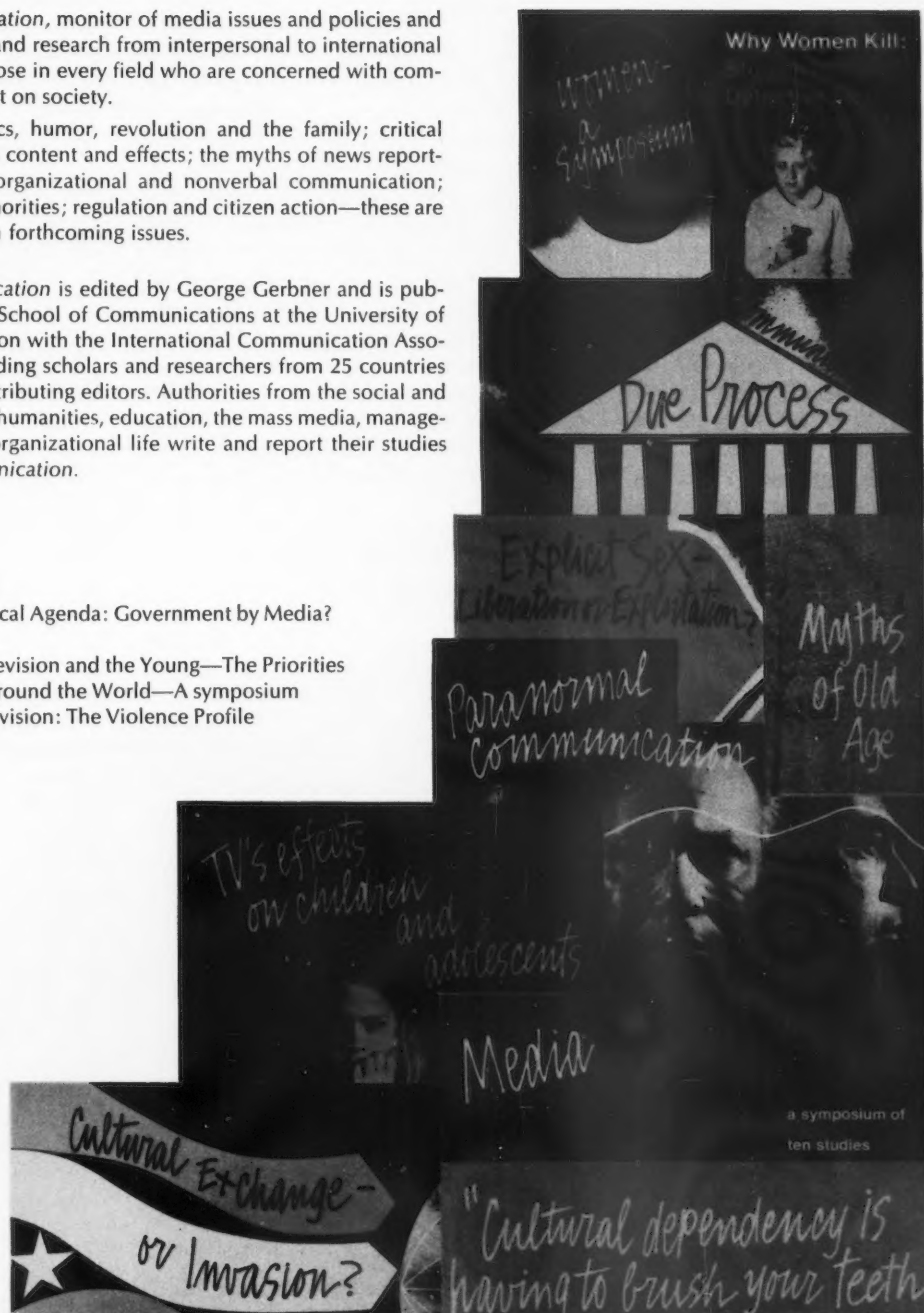
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NATIONAL NOTES

Shutout in Orlando

ORLANDO, FLA.

If you're after the latest news from the Orlando Sports Stadium, don't bother looking for it in the *Sentinel Star*: the paper has refused to print any since last December.

Apparently angered by more than four years of wrangling over an \$11-million libel suit filed against the paper by the stadium's owners, Mr. and Mrs. Pete Ashlock, the paper decided to strike back by blacking out stadium news. The Ashlock suit charges the newspaper with "distorted and biased news reporting" in connection with its coverage of several rock music concerts in 1971. According to *Sentinel Star* editor-publisher William Conomos, there were several incidents at the concerts, "including public disturbances and rioting among crowds of youths," which "were a matter of intense public concern" and were covered "as any similar events . . . would be anywhere."

Anger, however, was not the motivation cited by Conomos for instituting the blackout. Instead, he pointed to "constant and continued litigation such as this" as having a "chilling effect upon the press's rights to publish without prior restraint."

Pete Ashlock, co-owner of the stadium, however, has a much simpler explanation: "We turned down a ridiculously low out-of-court settlement. Three days later, the paper began the news blackout. What they're trying to do is suppress me into a settlement. They aren't going to succeed," he adds.

Readers of the *Sentinel Star* were not

Peggy Shaw is a free-lance writer who lives in Tampa. Joann S. Lublin is a Chicago reporter and writer. Francis Pollock is a free-lance writer specializing in consumer affairs.

told why stadium sports news suddenly disappeared from the sports pages. In fact, the newspaper's first public comment on the boycott came in the form of a written statement submitted to the *Review* in response to our inquiry.

Orlando broadcasters have taken up some of the slack since the *Sentinel Star* began its news blackout. Some have also criticized the newspaper's stand: "It's an irresponsible journalistic move," says Mick Andrews, sports director of WESH-TV. "It's like saying 'I'm going to take my ball and go home.'"

The *Sentinel Star*, however, hasn't quit the game completely: it still accepts advertising from the sports stadium.

Peggy Shaw

Racism or incompetence?

CHICAGO

The *Sun-Times*, with the largest black readership of the city's three daily newspapers, fired its only black sportswriter January 29. Depending on your viewpoint, the issue was either racism or incompetence.

Protagonists in the dispute are Lacy J. Banks, a thirty-two-year-old reporter and columnist who also is a Baptist minister, and Lewis Grizzard, a white Southerner who left *The Atlanta Constitution* in November to become the *Sun-Times*'s executive sports editor. Shortly after his arrival, Grizzard suspended Banks's three-year-old weekly column. The editor found the column had too many religious themes and "didn't come up to the standards of this department." He adds, "I dealt with them [the column's problems], which I think is my job."

Grizzard also told Banks that for the next month he would closely supervise

his beat coverage of the Bulls, a professional basketball team. Whether the move constituted probation later became a matter of contention. Banks felt he had been singled out for criticism; Grizzard disagrees.

The trial period expired January 9, but was extended. When Banks concluded he couldn't get a fair reading on his status, he made his gripes public. The newly formed Association of Black Journalists wrote to *Sun-Times* editors protesting Banks's purported mistreatment. Several radio stations and newspapers, including a black paper, the *Daily Defender*, aired his complaints. The January 29 issue of the *Defender* quoted Banks as saying, "I think Mr. Grizzard is a racist."

The same day *Sun-Times* editor James Hoge summoned Banks to ask about his public statements. Banks claimed he had described Grizzard as "racially motivated" rather than racist. Hoge fired him anyway. The charge: defaming Grizzard and the *Sun-Times*.

Banks filed a grievance with the local unit of The Newspaper Guild. But informal negotiations between the guild and the newspaper broke down in late February when management refused to accept a letter of apology from Banks. Managing editor Ralph Otwell contends the letter in effect repeated the original charge of racism. Banks also refused the *Sun-Times*'s offer of a general assignment reporter's job, which pays \$55-a-week less than he had received.

The clash escalated. The union and the paper entered formal grievance proceedings in early March; arbitration is now under way. A black civil-rights group picketed the *Sun-Times* and proposed a boycott.

Unresolved is whether the white editor ever had cause to criticize the black reporter. Supporters argue that Banks got numerous exclusives and

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Above: Chicago sports reporter Lacy Banks, whose column was suspended by Sun-Times sports editor Lewis Grizzard (right)



nothing but praise from superiors before Grizzard came. Other sportswriters feel differently. "Banks doesn't have the professional skills to work for a metropolitan paper," says Cooper Rollow, sports editor of the rival *Tribune*. Adds another sportswriter, "I thought he was lost in the world of sports. If he hadn't been black, he wouldn't have had that assignment."

But then if Banks weren't black, few probably would have cared about his alleged mistreatment in the first place.

Joann S. Lublin

The great restaurant ruckus

DANBURY, CONN.

Few stories generate as much immediate interest as a news organization's first searching look at restaurant sanitation in its area. Perhaps the reason is obvious: it literally hits you in the stomach to learn that your local steak house has an unsanitary kitchen.

So when the *News-Times* (circulation: 36,500) reported in January that seventeen of the city's 126 listed eating establishments had failed health inspections in 1975 — and that forty-five more had not been inspected at all — the results were predictable: readers generally praised the paper's enterprise and angry restaurateurs growled ominously about calling for a general advertising boycott.

In the weeks that followed, the newspaper reported on inspection records in some fourteen other municipalities. Many had good or excellent sanitation scores; a number, however, did not. Among the latter was the Candlewood Inn in nearby Brookfield. Twice, the paper reported, Candlewood, which it described as "the most consistent violator of health codes in 1975," had failed sanitary inspections. And twice, the paper said, Candlewood had been threatened with closure even though it had passed subsequent reinspections.

After the *News-Times* printed the threatened closure story, Al Dreyfus, the owner of the Candlewood, produced a letter from the Brookfield public health officer saying that no threat to close the restaurant had ever been made.

"It took the *News-Times* a week to get around to printing the retraction," says Dreyfus, "and when they did, they socked us again." The correction, which appeared as a short news story on the front page, acknowledged that no

threat had been made to close Candlewood, but then went on to describe the restaurant's less than outstanding inspection record.

Angered, Dreyfus pulled his advertising, which, he says, amounted to "over \$20,000" last year. "The paper knocked the shit out of us," Dreyfus said. "We aren't objecting to the series, but the sensationalism. They just printed these stories without any consultation with us whatsoever. To me, that's yellow journalism."

Dreyfus also called a meeting of area restaurant owners to discuss the series. The *News-Times* front-page account of the meeting said it was held "to organize a boycott," although Dreyfus and others who attended deny that a boycott was discussed.

Dreyfus and other restaurateurs who cancelled their advertising insist they are only "re-evaluating" because of what they perceive as "the paper's declining circulation and rising ad costs."

News-Times publisher Richard A. Myers says the circulation isn't declining and that he interprets the cancellations as a boycott.

"This is financial blackmail and I'm not going to buckle under to their pressure," Myers said. He estimated the ad losses at around \$1,500 a week, but later revised them downward to \$500.

Despite the tough rhetoric on both sides, by April the restaurateurs who had cancelled their advertising were once again buying space in the newspaper, albeit less than they had previously. Leading the parade was Dreyfus of the Candlewood.

And three months after the *News-Times* first reported that so many of Danbury's restaurants had failed inspection or had not been inspected at all, the paper again published the latest round of inspection scores: The result? Everyone passed.

Francis Pollock

Journalists vs. the unions

The long and bitter strike led many *Post* reporters not only to break ranks with the striking pressmen, but also to question the role of their own union

by SHIRLEY ELDER

No one could have predicted it in the predawn stillness of last October 1, but events about to take place in the pressroom of *The Washington Post* would cause a significant segment of The Newspaper Guild to unravel. And the crisis at the *Post* would call into question the relation of reporters and editors at newspapers all over the country to The Newspaper Guild, and to unions in general, which have received the loyalty of thousands of newsmen since the 1930s.

Men armed with knives and crowbars shattered the morning silence in a brief but angry outburst of violence against the machines of their trade. They were men from Local 6, Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union — pressmen — and when they were done, the nine giant presses of *The Washington Post* were immobilized.

That act provoked a majority of one of the guild's largest units, the *Post*'s 800 news and commercial workers, to spurn old loyalties, defy their own leadership — and cross a picket line.

The strike, longest in Washington newspaper history, continued for 137 days — craft unions on the outside, most guildsmen inside — until the crafts (the paperhandlers on December 22, the mailers and printers on February 16), settled and went back to work. In the end, only the pressmen were out.

For *Washington Post* employees, this was an unhappy and difficult time that split the guild unit right down the middle. Old friends and co-workers disagreed about many questions. Among them: how many reporters today can fight for the rights of labor and not risk driving newspapers out of business?

Over the years, the guild and its members at the *Post* had grown apart, almost unnoticed. While an ambitious young guild executive, Brian Flores, brought in better and better contracts,

the members concentrated on getting better and better jobs within an organization that was moving to the top journalistically. Flores, who was paying more attention to national union politics (he has already run — and lost — twice for the presidency of the national guild, in 1969 and 1971), now concedes he should have spent more time with his troops. By 1975, few of the more influential staff members knew Flores at all, and he didn't know them.

Imagine, then, the situation at the *Post* on October 1, 1975: the editorial employees have worked hard to earn and hold their prestigious jobs. Reporters no longer start as "printer's devils" or some such. They are only incidentally union members. Few have even seen a pressroom except through the big first-floor windows of the paper. They see no glamor in the mechanical side of the paper. They think of themselves as professionals, if not intellectuals.

Suddenly, a gang of union men described later as "goons" or "thugs" trash the mighty presses of this newspaper, and the well-educated, hardworking journalists are asked — no, not asked, they are ordered — to honor the picket lines that follow. A majority says no. They say that kind of nineteenth-century trade unionism is out.

There has long been friction between the guild members from the commercial and the editorial departments. Commercial members, according to guild officials, generally outnumber editorial members, but they are less vocal, more disciplined, and often less militant. In the *Post* case, considerably more commercial employees honored the picket line, something like eight to one over editorial, among the approximately 250 guild members who walked off the job. But the majority, as a reporters' group said later, were outraged at the demand for what they called a "knee-jerk" response to the call for union solidarity.

"On its surface," the group wrote, "this may seem a simple issue of strikers versus workers in a labor dispute. In reality the *Post* strike encompasses the greatest variety of difficult issues the

Shirley Elder is a Washington free-lancer who for eight years covered Congress for The Washington Star. Her husband is one of the Post reporters who worked during the pressmen's strike.

at The Washington Post

Guild has encountered in its history. Journalistic principles, including defense of the very means of publication against attack by the crowbar and the torch, have clashed with trade union principles. Democratic procedure within unionism has clashed with labor alliances. Profound moral choices have been posed for newspaper people loyal both to their trade and to trade unions. These are choices that have bedeviled the *Post* unit of the Guild."

Before the strike, most reporters at *The Washington Post*, like most reporters everywhere, happily went their various ways, accepting the fruits of unionism, grumbling a bit about leadership at the local level, but unwilling to take the time to do anything about it.

But the issue was forced on October 1, when the executive board of the Washington-Baltimore Guild met and ordered their "brothers" at the *Post* to honor the picket line thrown up by the pressmen as they left the building.

Don Oberdorfer, a national-desk reporter just back from a three-year stint in Japan, recalls going into the office that day wondering about a brief radio report he had heard of a fire in the *Post* pressroom. He knew that contracts of nine craft unions were due to expire September 30, but the latest company bulletin said that negotiations were continuing and there was no immediate threat of a strike.

Oberdorfer said later that when he reached the *Post*, he was surprised to see the pickets. He knew nothing of the executive board vote. Riding up the elevator with a *Post* executive, Oberdorfer asked him what the problem was. He was advised to go see for himself.

He dropped his coat and papers off at the fifth-floor newsroom and took an elevator back down to the pressroom. When he entered the pressroom, he was stunned by what he saw. "They had touched every base," he said. "They could have burned the building down." Each of the seventy-two component parts of the nine presses had been damaged. Fires were started and automated

fire fighting equipment jammed. *Post* officials in the heat of the event estimated damage in the millions of dollars, while the strikers said it was more like \$30,000. (Management said later that it cost \$270,000 to repair the damage.)

News of the vandalism quickly spread around the building that morning. Mark J. Meagher, the *Post*'s forty-three-year-old executive vice-president and general manager, issued a short statement that there would be no paper the next day. "As of the moment," he said, "none of the presses are operational."

Guild members and nonunion personnel were kept on the payroll. Members of the craft unions were told to stay home until notified of work available.

A guild meeting was called that afternoon. Administrative officer Brian Flores urged everyone to honor the pressmen's picket line in keeping with "union solidarity." He spoke of "some trouble in the pressroom" the night before, but shrugged it off. Union members had a greater duty to stick together, he said, warning that failure to back the pressmen would leave the guild out in

Washington Post pressmen manning the picket line on first day of the strike last October



James M. Thresher

the cold when its own contract came up for discussion in the spring.

Oberdorfer, angered by what he had seen and what he was hearing, rose to address his colleagues: "They ask us to consider the future of the guild. What about the future of the paper? Last night, a bunch of people who call themselves a union tried to destroy *The Washington Post*." He described the damage and said: "I'm not about to stand on a picket line with a bunch of guys who went out there with crowbars and torches and tried to wreck our newspaper."

The motion to honor the picket line was shouted down. Most of the guild members went back to work. But some, loyal to what they felt was the most basic principle of successful unionism, solidarity, condemned the violence and honored the strike. They were to wage a lonely, losing battle to convince the others to walk out. Three times, in the ten weeks after that first vote, they were to be on the losing side, as the guild unit agreed to continue working by 244-186 on October 3, 266-251 on October 7 and 361-216 on December 15. In the end, one by one, most of the striking guildsmen returned to work.

But there was no feeling of triumph anywhere. Inside, the *Post*'s huge color-coded newsroom was an unhappy place, despite determined (and uncharacteristic) management efforts to be gentle lest the uneasy balance tip in favor of the strikers. Longtime union members found themselves crossing a picket line twice a day, stung by jeers of striking pressmen, angered by the roughness of their tactics. Some found tires slashed and were harassed by obscene phone calls. National political reporter Jules Witcover was trailed to his car one evening and badly beaten.

For some, the continued ugliness of the strikers hardened their resolve to keep on working. Reporter William Chapman said he had been wavering until he saw Witcover's battered face. "That did it," he said. "No more hesitation. I'm working."

For others, the essential economics of the strike kept them on the job. Clearly, it would be a long strike, made longer by the pressmen's violence to the presses. On December 10, after weeks of bitter deadlock, publisher Katharine Graham announced that the *Post* would

begin hiring nonunion pressmen the next week. It seemed the men of Local 6 might walk the streets forever. Top guild minimums at the *Post* are \$475 a week. A reporter joining the pressmen could pick up no more than \$45 to \$75 a week in strike benefits. "I know it's selfish," one reporter admitted. "But frankly, the violence gave me an excuse to do what I wanted to do, keep on working. I can't afford not to."

He conceded, however, and most others agree, that the guild unit would have joined the strike if the pressmen had walked off the job peacefully, after fruitless but responsible bargaining.

The fact is that from the beginning there was little responsible, or "good faith," bargaining on either side. Deadlock was built into the situation. Management insisted on a contract that would give the company control over who worked which shifts in the pressroom; the pressmen insisted that old practices be retained that allowed the union to make job assignments. Management said it was willing to pay a high price for control — job guarantees, pay increases, \$400,000 in bonuses. The pressmen said no rather impressively, 249-5. They said money was not at issue. Mrs. Graham said: "We have offered all we have to give." And the company began hiring strike-breakers.

James A. Dugan, the tough-talking young (thirty-seven) chief of the pressmen's local union (and a *Post* pressman himself — it is a small local with no paid staff), says the *Post* never intended to be fair. The company was out to bust the unions from the start, he says, and recalls: "Mr. Meagher told me one day, 'Y'know, what I'd like to do? I'd like to tear that book up [the contract] and start all over again.' I said, 'I bet you would, sweetheart.'"

Dugan says his men were provoked into violence when company negotiators made it clear that the *Post* would continue publishing no matter how many unions went on strike. The company made no secret of its elaborate plans for operating without unions. Dugan says the *Post* management boasted of sending nonunion workers to a special "scab" school in Oklahoma to learn how to handle production jobs. As the

contract expiration deadline neared, the pressmen could see no easy, traditional way to shut down the paper.

The *Post* in fact missed only one day of publication. Beginning October 2, copy was flown by helicopter from the roof of the *Post* building to smaller newspaper shops in Maryland and Virginia. The paper looked awful, but it came out. Gradually, the damaged presses were repaired, and by the end of the strike's first month, the *Post* was beginning to look a little like its old self, thinner and with some mismatched sections still printed outside Washington, but obviously acceptable to most readers.

As the *Post* pulled itself together, guildsmen organized into two new groups, the Washington Post Guild Majority, representing those who continued to work (eventually 505), and the Rank and File Strike Support Committee, led by twenty-three of the approximately 200 news and commercial workers still honoring the picket line.

The Guild Majority, headed by Don Baker, a reporter on the metropolitan staff, assumed a defensive position from the start. Flores had threatened disciplinary action, ranging from expulsion from the guild to fines of 125 percent of salary. The Guild Majority hired lawyers and prepared to do battle.

In an effort to keep the prestigious *Post* unit in the guild, the International Executive Board stepped in between *Post* members and an increasingly vitriolic Flores. International president Charles Perlik said any fines imposed by the local would be dismissed on appeal. He ordered Flores off the negotiating committee for the upcoming *Post* bargaining sessions and privately expressed concern at the continued anti-*Post* stridency of Flores and a majority of the local's fifteen-member executive board.

Even guild members on the outside had problems with Flores but, throughout the strike, they pressed their case, handing out mimeographed leaflets urging fellow guildsmen to leave the building.

Some of those who continued working obviously were unhappy with management and uncomfortable sitting on the company's side of the field. "The most fateful decision a labor union can make," said national reporter Peter Milius, "is to side with management in a labor-management dispute." Milius

voted to honor the strike but, though deeply troubled, continued working when a majority voted the other way.

The debate continued. The newsroom bulletin board was constantly covered with copies of statements from one side or the other, causing one reporter to quip: "Now I know why there's a paper shortage." The most impressive document appeared in early January, a ten-page statement of principle from fifteen working guild members, including six who had held guild offices in the past and two who were charter members of the *Post* unit in 1935. (One of them, police reporter Al Lewis, proudly holds a card signed by Heywood Broun, a founder of the guild in 1933.)

The statement went back over the three-month history of guild actions during the strike, including the Flores threats, and warned: "Unless the present course is quickly changed, the future of the Newspaper Guild at the *Post* is dim." The group explained:

We believe in majority rule, even those of us who disagreed with some of the majority's decisions. We aren't going to cave in to threats of fines or expulsion. We will not abandon what we believe is right.

We want to be rid of petty tyrants (in the Guild leadership) who, when they lose a fair fight, change the rules until they can claim they won.

Many of these same persons later tried to form a new Washington Newspaper Union, a pro-union but anti-guild group, and petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election. W.N.U. organizers made no lavish promises except to be reasonable and to represent the best interests of *Post* workers. They conceded that if they won, there could be no strike threat — having crossed the picket line, there was no way they could now stage a strike of their own.

"This is no panacea," Reporter Douglas Watson, a W.N.U. co-chairman, said. "This may just be a lifeboat all of us have to get into. . . . Part of the reason we're in this mess is because guild leaders are still thinking in terms of the 1930s." Perlik, aware of the deep dissatisfaction, sought compromise and continued to negotiate with *Post* guild members, bypassing Flores.

And so the debate went on, back and forth, inside the building and out. Al-

though deep disagreements remain, some general areas of consensus emerged from dozens of interviews:

□ Flores erred in trying to force guild people to honor the picket line unquestioningly. And then when they balked, he compounded his error — and brought demands for his dismissal — by forcing an area-wide referendum (that went against the Guild Majority and was not obeyed) and, finally, by initiating disciplinary action against 327 of the 486 who crossed the picket lines.

□ Old-fashioned union loyalty is fading among *Post* guildsmen, largely, it seems, because of some of the union's own successes — dues-paying is automatic, for example, so no one hands over money each month for The Cause. Membership is almost automatic —

'Longtime union members found themselves crossing a picket line twice a day'

eight of every ten new employees must join — so there's no need to recruit new members, no need to stir enthusiasm.

□ It is harder and harder to get people to walk off the job and off the payroll. Flores has negotiated pace-setting contracts: \$475-a-week top minimums, with many guildsmen getting much more.

□ Newsmen have been growing away from newspaper craft unions since Heywood Broun's day. Journalists today are often better educated, upper-middle-class types — "elitists," Dugan says, and he may be right. They feel little or no identity with production unions. Reporters are drawn to papers like the *Post* because they are well-funded and respected publications; few jobs elsewhere can compare. But production workers follow the machine, not the product. Dugan was quoted as saying his men have no special ties to the newspaper, that they might as well be making hubcaps.

□ Strikes against newspapers are losing effectiveness as a labor tactic. To be

successful, a strike should shut the company down. With computerized production methods spreading throughout the newspaper industry, it is becoming easier and easier for papers to continue publishing — unless someone wrecks the presses.

□ Some kind of organization is essential, whether it is something called The Newspaper Guild or something else. All involved at the *Post* agree there must be a way to protect employees in their dealings with management on such matters as job assignments, grievances, pensions, health insurance, and, of course, salaries.

At the *Post* over the last six months, there have been endless discussions, debates, meetings. Should we quit the guild? Should we form a new local local within the national guild? Should we form a new union, maybe a company union? Should we break off from the guild and join, say, the Teamsters or the United Auto Workers?

As of this writing (the middle of March) this is the situation:

□ The Washington Newspaper Union petition to the N.L.R.B. is pending.

□ Perlik is meeting with reporters like Baker and Oberdorfer, who want to stay in the guild but believe that the W.N.U. would win an election in today's anti-Flores climate. They suggest a new local within the guild.

□ Under The Newspaper Guild constitution, it takes the approval of the old local to set up a new one with members of the old one. The guild local already has voted to order the *Post* unit to honor the picket line (a vote that the *Post* unit defied), and could be expected to vote against the *Post* unit again.

□ Perlik wants his union to remain at the *Post*, but the A.F.L.-C.I.O. (of which the guild is a member) is formally on record in support of the pressmen and against the guild people who crossed the picket lines.

□ If the *Post* could be set up as a separate local within the guild, the W.N.U. probably would lose and might even call off the N.L.R.B. election.

Resolution of the tangled union affairs at the *Post* guild still appears distant. Everyone agrees only on their dissatisfaction with the guild's performance. The question, then, is who will change, the guild or its members? ■

Woodstein in the movies

'A merciless kind of hard light'

by NAT HENTOFF

The woman — who has long been a writer for literary journals but has never worked on a daily paper — was looking at the screen in unabated fascination. About a third of the way through the movie version of *All The President's Men*, she suddenly said, "I think I'm learning how to be an investigative reporter! I really had no idea how it was actually done."

And insofar as one can learn the rudiments of that prickly craft by briefly watching someone else practice it, that woman is going to be joined by millions in finally getting a reasonably realistic notion of how journalists do go about digging for a living. In this respect, Robert Redford, Dustin Hoffman, screenwriter William Goldman, and director Alan Pakula (along with sources Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein) have indeed brought about a small near-miracle in film history. This is a movie journalists can see without either cringing or hooting. In some places the gritty familiarity is so compelling that a watching reporter may get hit with the nagging feeling that he's missing a deadline while sitting there.

The morning of the afternoon I saw the movie, I had been starting on a story about a John Mitchell-style principal in a public school. I had made about a dozen phone calls, some dry, some springing other leads that would lead to God knows how many more phone calls and interviews. In my notebook there was a thicket of arrows and lines from one piece of information to a shard of speculation that maybe connected and maybe didn't. And then later, on the screen, the same maze appeared —

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though in notebooks covering a rather more substantive story, of course.

The documentary-like ambience for which Redford and Hoffman were striving in *All The President's Men* has been secured. Not only the doggedness of it all but also the sense reporters frequently have that they may have just fallen into an elevator shaft. Is the story really there? Do you have enough underpinning so that it won't collapse and bury you when the paper hits the streets? Can you really trust the source or are you being set up, for whatever reason? In this case, as Woodward and Bernstein noted in their book, much of their early reporting on Watergate was perilously rickety. You can only pyramid one unattributable source after another for so long without finally latching on to some documentation to stand on, so to speak. And it is this tension, again entirely realistic, which provides much of the continuing "real life" drama of the film.

Also realistic, and quite coldly so, is a series of quick but telling scenes that show how to get reluctant possible sources to talk. With a certain amount of discomfiture, I saw techniques that I and just about every reporter I know use all the time. One is shameless trickery. Pretending, for instance, that you have proof of a malefactor's identity so that the nervous source, indeed believing you already have the information, decides to confirm it. Then there is false empathy. You may despise a figure in the puzzle but you pretend great concern for his troubles as you tell him you fully understand how he — unwittingly, of course — got into the pickle he's in. Softened and grateful, he talks. On the other hand, if a source about to implicate himself is on the ropes, you become as flinty as Haldeman when he begs you to let him recover his balance before you have at him again. It's just like Leo Durocher said.

All these techniques, and a good many more, are part of the movie as Woodward and Bernstein's diligent doubles triumph, one way or another, over the likes of Donald Segretti and Kenneth Dahlberg. What the film makes

clear, without needing to underline any of it, is that a proficient reporter not only has to grub a lot and be quick to see connections in the detritus of what he finds, but he also has to be somewhat of an actor. A resilient actor, adapting his style to the needs of a specific situation. With Hugh Sloan, after all, Carl Bernstein was not what he was with Donald Segretti.

Also familiar to journalists is the film's skillful playing on the fact that even though trickery and pressure are sometimes necessary, most people do want to talk to reporters. Even reluctant sources, once overcome, often open up to a quite remarkable extent. As Alan Pakula said in a *Rolling Stone* piece on the movie, at first he didn't understand why so many people did talk to Woodward and Bernstein. But then he realized that when you're approached by someone who appears genuinely, enormously interested in what you have to say, the intensity of the reporter's concern is hard to resist. "Just that somebody is *that interested*," says Pakula, "is, I think, very hypnotic. Carl Bernstein said everybody wants basically to tell the truth."

Well, not necessarily all of the truth, but some of it; and the more riveted the reporter seems to be, the more truth will come out. Maybe.

All The President's Men is virtually a seminar in the art and craft of interviewing. Among the devices shown are how to get into a subject's home despite his seemingly unyielding resistance, how to stay there, how to handle the absolutely firm declaration that no more questions will be answered, how to work the phone to nail a quarry before he knows he's been skewered.

On the other hand, the film reveals little about the art and craft of editing. Ben Bradlee, Harry Rosenfeld, and Howard Simons are all sturdily portrayed (Jason Robards, Jack Warden, Martin Balsam). But although they mill about from time to time and remind Woodward and Bernstein who's really in charge, their roles are largely decorative rather than functional. But then this is a reporters' story; and since most previous movies

about the raunchy fourth estate have focused on diversely manic, dysfunctioning editors, the emphasis on reporters in this film is an exemplary instance of affirmative action. Not that the film makers had much choice in the matter. Ben Bradlee, however, does have one short speech which is likely to amuse and bemuse most newspaper people: "I can't do the reporting for my reporters and that means I have to trust them, and I don't like to trust anybody." That, of course, works the other way around, too.

While *All The President's Men*, in all respects already cited, is the most accurate movie yet made about reporting, it does omit practically one whole area of the Woodstein heroic narrative — the ethics of some of their Watergate reporting. At one point, to be sure, a Bernstein source in the telephone company tells the reporter seeking phone data about certain prey, "If John Mitchell wanted *your* phone records, you'd be yelling 'invasion of privacy.'" In the movie, Carl Bernstein does not answer. In the book, Woodstein reports: "It was a problem he had never resolved in his mind. Why, as a reporter, was he entitled to have access to personal and financial records when such disclosure would outrage him if he were subjected to a similar inquiry by investigators?"

Omitted from the movie entirely is Carl Bernstein's initial quid pro quo agreement with the chief investigator for the Dade County, Florida, state's attorney to get the military records of a man running against the state's attorney. Bernstein could have done it, he thought, through a source of his in the Pentagon. (What was wanted was "any possible derogatory information — arrests, mental illness, history of homosexuality.") Bernstein never did get that information, but not because it was against his principles to go after it, as I pointed out in my review of the book in these pages.

Also omitted from the film version (and commented upon in my review of the book) was the attempt by Woodward and Bernstein to try to get information from members of the Watergate grand jury. Only when they were close to being publicly exposed for working on grand jurors to break their oath of secrecy did the reporters accuse themselves



Actors Dustin Hoffman (left) and Martin Balsam (right) chat with editor Ben Bradlee in the Burbank studio replica of The Washington Post newsroom.

of having "chosen expediency over principle." And when they *had* been caught in the act, as Woodward and Bernstein wrote in the book, "Their role had been covered up. They had dodged, evaded, misrepresented, suggested and intimidated, even if they had not lied outright."

Not a trace of that episode in the movie. Nor is there any reference to the drama of their desperation when, having been scooped by Jack Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times*, they rushed to get a new scoop of their own. They reported that three particular officials of the Committee for the Re-election of the President had received wiretap memos from James McCord. But the story was false. The consequence, as they noted in their book, was that "three men had been wronged. They had been unfairly accused on the front page of the *Washington Post*, the hometown newspaper of their families, neighbors, and friends."

In the movie, only one grave Woodstein error is touched on — their having inaccurately reported that Hugh Sloan had identified H. R. Haldeman before the grand jury as one of five men who handled the secret fund that financed Watergate and many other subversive adventures of the president's men. However, in the movie, although the reporters are shown to have been somewhat careless in this matter, they get the sympathy and their sources get the blame. Besides, it all turned out well in the end anyway.

To this extent, therefore, there is a certain idealization of Woodstein in the film. Understandable, because had it not been for their labors, Richard M. Nixon might still be upon us. Understandable,

too, I suppose, because this is meant to be an action film — a detective story, as Robert Redford puts it — and internal debate, however agonizing, about the ethics of journalism during hot pursuit of a mugger of the Constitution would have surely slowed the pace. Still, I wish there had been some small indication that there may be occasion to give even heroes of journalism the kind of close analysis that journalists give other heroes, including folk heroes.

One result of the Woodstein triumphs, a result certain to be intensified by this movie, is that an increasing number of reporters, it seems to me, are not paying much, if any, attention to how they get a story, so long as they get it.

The movie of *All The President's Men*, therefore, while an amazingly successful detective story (even though we know the end, the chase is totally absorbing) and a crisply realistic account of how reporters actually work, is somewhat two-dimensional. Alan Pakula, in talking about the remarkably realistic set of *The Washington Post* which was constructed in the Burbank studios, said: "It's a world without shadow. With hard, *hard* poster colors. Nothing is hidden, nothing is in shadows, everything is exposed all the time: a merciless kind of hard light."

Actually, the hardness of that newsroom light is essentially directed outwards in this movie. And because of this movie and the book that preceded it, along with the new Woodstein book and the movie that is likely to follow, journalists who cast hard, merciless light will become even more idealized. And they will be seen as themselves being without shadows. And some may even come to believe that. ■

BOOKS

White on black

The Trouble I've Seen: White Journalist/Black Movement

by Paul Good. Howard University Press. \$8.95

For reasons that have little to do with this book, I admire Paul Good. He is a gutsy, intellectually honest man who several years ago decided to make his life as a serious free-lance writer — no matter what the financial and psychic perils. He has stuck with it as few others have, and his book-length works, while not widely heralded, have been valuable additions to our understanding of what it means to be black and poor in America: a U.S. Civil Rights Commission report on Alabama; an examination of “northern” racism in Cairo, Illinois; and, best of all, *The American Serfs*, a trenchant study of poverty in the rural South.

Good covered much of the Southern civil-rights movement, occasionally for the high-paying establishment media, more often for such publications as *The Reporter*, *The Nation*, and the Southern Regional Council's *New South*. I first met him in St. Augustine, the scene of one of the least publicized but bloodiest of the major civil-rights campaigns. He was intense, opinionated, somewhat abrasive, and too much a causist for most of the journalists he met.

One of the best anecdotes in this book describes how Nelson Benton, a CBS News correspondent, had Good fired as a CBS stringer because of his alleged affiliations with civil-rights groups. I didn't know Benton well, but I can easily believe he would have taken such action; so would many other reporters who considered themselves unbiased and “professional.” Good denies that he had any affiliation with the groups, and I believe that, too. The fact that he talked as he did, wrote as he did, and was openly on one side of the struggle, made

that kind of charge inevitable.

The Trouble I've Seen focuses on Good's reporting ventures in the South during 1964. That was probably the single most dramatic and important year of the civil-rights movement. It was the year of the “long hot summer” in Mississippi, the low point of which was the murder of the three civil-rights workers whose bodies were hidden in an earthen dam. It was also the year of St. Augustine, of the passage of the federal public accommodations act, of the founding of the all-black Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, of a national Democratic convention that finessed the power plays of young black activists, and of the murder of Lemuel Penn, a reserve Army colonel who was gunned down by Klansmen in Georgia simply because he was black and from out of state. Good writes well and with feeling about these events. Others have written as well, however, and after twelve years it all seems a little stale.

These retellings of recent history, some 200 pages' worth, are in the service of a larger objective: the story of Paul Good's self-professed conversion from a white writer insensitive to the plight of black men to one supremely sensitive to their plight. That the conversion took place, I have no doubt. Good demonstrates it in passages of fervent prose, including excerpts from pieces he wrote at the time. The conversion leads up to his main contention: that with few exceptions, such as Good, the white press did a poor job of reporting and interpreting the civil-rights movement. The last chapter of *The Trouble I've Seen* deals explicitly with that contention, and one wishes it had been expanded to replace all those nice but no longer compelling reminiscences by the white journalist on the front lines of the black movement.

For in the last chapter Good raises a

number of important points. He begins by stating that his close involvement with civil-rights reporting “bred a contempt for American journalism, which I saw failing to commit itself to a description of race both truthful and inspired.” In support of that view he makes a number of telling observations, including this one: “Only when the Movement created controversy that could not be ignored, did journalism begin paying belated attention to minorities”; in the process, “Journalism, universally inert during most of the fifties, suddenly developed a reputation for liberalism.”

Good also makes several observations with which I partially disagree:

□ Concluding the Benton-CBS anecdote, he declares that, for the journalist, “A taint was attached to associating with ‘them’ [civil-rights workers].” Although that is true, in my experience a far greater taint was attached to reporters and others — TV crewmen were the leading examples — who associated with the white opposition.

□ The press reacted with confusion and alarm to the “black power” slogan coined by Stokely Carmichael during James Meredith's 1966 march through Mississippi. Journalists and editorial writers did distort the meaning of black power, not so much out of malice, I think, as ignorance. The ignorance stemmed from a lack of perception about the deeper trends and meanings of the civil-rights movement and from the failure of black spokesmen to explain the new slogan. To many whites, including liberals of demonstrated good will toward blacks, black power came across as black ingratitude and white exclusion. That was a shortsighted reaction, but neither Carmichael nor his colleagues — nor Good, as far as I can tell — did much to rectify it.

□ In a similar vein, Good castigates the white press for criticizing Martin Luther King, Jr.'s efforts to link the civil-rights

issue with the issue of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. While I now believe King was both morally and tactically justified — at the time I was uncertain — there was a legitimate question of whether embracing the anti-war cause would dilute the strength of the civil-rights movement. Good, however, sees no subtleties; to King's white critics, he imputes stupidity at best.

□ "... The [New York] *Times*, white to the core in its management, remains an Anglo-Saxon autocrat doling out racial news." Good implies the same criticism of the rest of the establishment press, and it is sound as far as it goes. The real problem, however, is not that, as he says, there is "no significant black presence in . . . management." The problem is that the people who run the *Times* and almost every other member of the major media share backgrounds, assumptions, attitudes, and privileges with the businessmen, political leaders, *et al* who control the essential elements of American life.

A substantial portion of Good's case against the white press in the black movement rests on his critique of *Time* magazine's treatment of the movement. He charges *Time* with ignoring correspondents' reports "probing the substance behind the form of race 'progress' " and with being "in the sixties a rasp against the sensibilities of blacks fed up with white versions of how and how fast freedom should come. . . ." He cites, as a particularly grievous example of the latter fault, the *Time* story on the refusal of the Georgia House of Representatives to seat Julian Bond because of his condemnation of the Vietnam war and "support" of draft dodgers.

I covered the Bond-legislature story for *Time* in 1966. I know that my long report was sympathetic to Bond, and I have reread the story as it appeared in print — one of those "sixty-liners"



Author Paul Good (center, with notebook) in 1965, in Selma, Alabama, as Martin Luther King, Jr. (left) and other demonstrators were placed under arrest by Selma's director of public safety, Wilson Baker (right)

with which the newsmagazines purport to cover major news events. The story's principal shortcoming, I found, was not what Good alleges to be its bias against Bond; he was dealt with fairly. The shortcoming was in not blasting the Georgia House for arrogantly suspending the right of free speech of one of its duly elected members.

Time in those years was a somewhat schizophrenic publication, struggling to emerge from the long shadow of Henry Luce into a responsible position on social issues that were taking on new urgency. Considering the Lucean hangover and considering that its managing editor, Otto Fuerbringer, was an unimaginative Midwestern Republican, *Time* was quite progressive on race. To be sure, no decently sensitive *Time* correspondent could help but chafe at the slants given some racial stories and, especially, at the stories that ran too short or not at all. Had his research been thorough, Good could have picked much stouter sticks with which to belabor *Time*'s racial coverage. The

magazine never ran an adequate account of the bitterly protracted St. Augustine campaign. Worse, until the case came to trial, it ran no story of the infamous Orangeburg, South Carolina "massacre," in which three black students were killed and some thirty wounded in an unjustified fusillade fired by highway patrolmen. I have never forgotten the brief cable I received from the news desk explaining that Orangeburg had simply been "outspaced" in a "busy news week"; one of the stories that supplanted it was a sizable blurb on a monumental new work, *My Twelve Years with John F. Kennedy*, by his former secretary.

In the end, Good's book is a strong argument for *engagé* journalism. He loved Dr. King greatly, he tells us; obviously he admired the black revolution and what it was attempting to achieve. One cannot fault him for that. I myself was often awed and inspired in those days, not only by King, but also by the young civil-rights workers and by the civil-rights attorneys who gave up lucrative and cushy careers in the North for the badly paid and risky task of furthering the movement in the South.

Yet one must question two assumptions that accompany Good's argument. One is that following his conversion he was a certified keeper of journalistic truth and integrity. The second is that most other representatives of the white press lacked the courage, perception, and moral qualities to write as he did. I leave the first of these to the judgment of time, but in the second I think he is being unrealistic and unfair. A wire-service reporter, no matter how courageous and perceptive, cannot be expected to write with Good's passion and obvious predispositions; his stuff would never make the wire, and he would soon be fired. Nor can a reporter for any of the major media be expected to do that with frequency. Such writing — as Good himself observes at one point — is the province of the avowedly political magazines, with their elite and

intellectually sophisticated readerships.

Good should be thankful that he had the talent and the opportunity to write for those magazines. The fact that he did should do much to compensate for the sacrifices he has made along the way.

ROGER M. WILLIAMS

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Keeping up with the times

The New York Times Manual of Style and Usage

Revised and edited by Lewis Jordan. Quadrangle. \$10

What the University of Chicago's *Manual of Style* is to the world of hardback publishing, *The New York Times Style Book* (1962) has been to the world of journalism; to a greater extent and with more authority than other newspaper style books, it set itself the task of defining the proper usage of words, proper spellings, and proper punctuation. Like most style books, it added a great deal of more complicated and technical information: proofreader's marks, make-up markers, typography, and headlines. But most of this information has now become the province of non-writers at the *Times*, while the more general questions of style have increasingly interested an audience stretching far beyond the confines of the newspaper itself. In addition, the world has changed, making the 1962 edition obsolescent. It had nothing to say about obscenity, vulgarity, and women. It felt no delicacy about sex distinctions, while about Negroes it noted only the second *e* in the plural. It saw no need to take a stand on the spelling of *mari hlj uana*

and *hipp ie/y*. It had not faced the problem of publishing Nixon's foul-mouthed tapes. It was almost innocent of acronyms. It was square. This new edition fills (see *clichés*) a much-needed void.

So what's new? Well, the curious spelling *dumfounded* has been improved to *dumbfounded*, and change, if not much improvement, is suggested by the revision of *gladioluses* to *gladiolus* (pl.); but the manual still clings to the glamor of *glamour*. The *Marquess* of Milford-Haven has sold out to the Americans; the example is now the *Marquess* of Manleyford — a bow to John P. Manley, the name used in the 1962 edition to illustrate the proper form for titles and abbreviations; Manley also turns up here, in posh disguise, as President Jean-Paul Hommely of France. Aside from these, there are few interesting alterations, although one might note that even here pollution has taken its toll. The old explanation "You jump into the lake. You swim in it" has been altered for health's sake; it's now a swimming pool one jumps into.

With a little shoving, the new terms fall into a few major categories. Some reflect subjects new to the world or newly interesting to it: *E.S.P.*, *I.C.4.A.*, *graffiti*, *area code*, and *ZIP code*; *third world*, *lesbian*, *gay*. Some reflect new cultural artifacts: *McDonald's*, *Frisbee*, *I.U.D.* Sadly, many emanate from the national government's p.r. men and assorted gunsels: *Smokey Bear* ("not *Smokey the Bear*"), *bug*, *tap*, and a soup-bowlful of acronyms.

The category developed with most earnestness reflects the *Times*'s new ethical sensitivity. *Fairness and impartiality*, for instance, comes out in favor of both. Elsewhere we are told that "we should avoid words or phrases that seem to imply [a fuzzy three-word euphemism for "imply"] that the *Times* speaks with a purely [curious word] masculine voice, viewing men as the norm and women as the exception." We're told this under the heading *women*; there's no *men*. In some cases

that touch on gender a seeming implication, or unseemly implication, of bias is corrected simply (curious word) by gelding. *Executor*, *foreman*, *spokesman*, and *chairman* are so treated: "Use for both men and women," we are instructed. (The "both" is one of several redundancies in the manual.) And *freshman* is used for both sexes, despite the University of Rhode Island's class of "freshpersons." In fact the compound-*person* is thoroughly stomped on, and quite rightly. So, though with less justification, is *Ms*.

Having so far held the line manfully, the *Times* throws concessions about like flowers. It instructs us to "use the pronouns *she* and *her* in references to ships and vessels, even when they have masculine names." It steers us away from *housewife*, *girl*, *coed*, and *divorcée* ("still bears traces of a 'gay sinner'

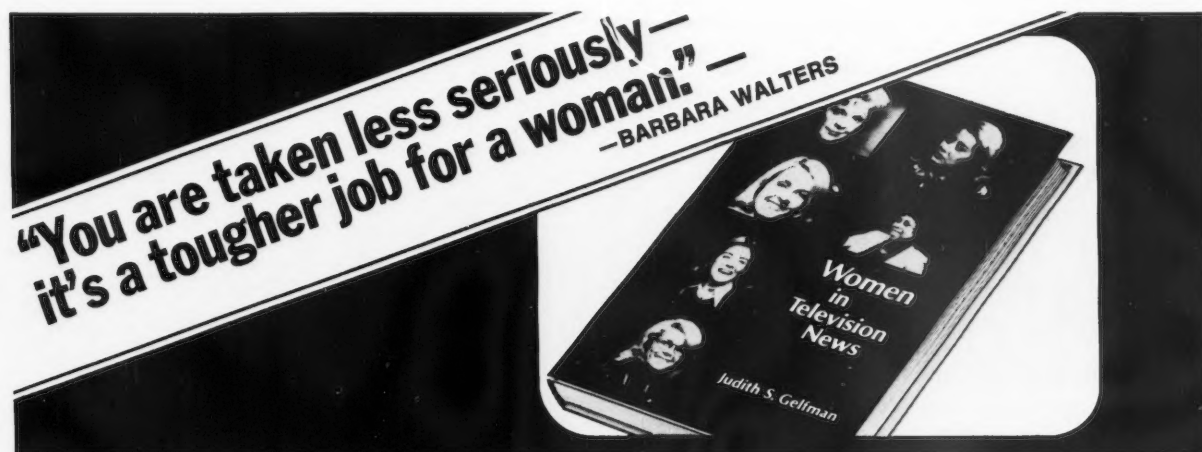
connotation that is offensive"); and it recommends *brassiere* ("avoid *bra*").

The 1962 edition urged writers to withdraw the honorific "Mr." as quickly as possible from "the names of persons who have been convicted of crime or who have unsavory reputations known without question to be deserved." Perhaps because so many of these people recently held high positions in our government, the new manual withdraws this recommendation (it suggests evading the issue by judicious rephrasing instead); but, as a concession to the ladies, it also withdraws from its earlier moral position on the subject of criminal women. It now says nothing where the last edition, torn between ethics and propriety, decided that "Mrs. and Miss . . . are to be used for all females, reputable or not, since they are needed to denote marital status."

(Miss L. A. Borden took an ax/ And gave her father forty whacks?)

Another major object of this new sensitivity is the matter of ethnic background, with the prime example *Indians, American*. The naive writer is warned that "ordinarily innocent words like *wampum*, *warpath*, *powwow*, *tepee*, *brave*, *squaw*, etc., can in certain contexts be disparaging and offensive." (The new edition explains the difference between "like" and "as," but misses the redundancy of "like . . . etc."; the manual also admits that *etc.* "is a lazy way out of not-very-difficult problems and is best avoided," but it makes an exception for itself. The comma after *squaw*, by the way, is proper but contrary to *Times* usage.)

The final category comprises most of what we understand as usage, which the manual defines as "the manner in which



WOMEN IN TELEVISION NEWS

By Judith S. Gelfman

Besides Miss Walters, author Judith Gelfman talked candidly with 29 other women who have "made it" in the traditionally white male bastion of the TV newsroom—including Lesley Stahl, Melba Tolliver, Pia Lindstrom, Pauline Frederick and Pat Collins—as well as with several prominent male news executives and newscasters. Their forthright comments—on women's problems in broadcasting, salaries, working conditions, the effects of prejudice, glamor (or the lack of it), job-getting techniques, etc.—provide an unusually frank, behind-the-screen glimpse of an exciting field in which opportunity has become a reality. Photographs. \$7.95



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words are employed — or, most often, the preferred manner of using them. . . . The intent is to give preference to that which safeguards the language from debasement."

Mr. Lewis Jordan, who edited this new manual, is in many ways a purist. And, like all purists, he tends to be a bit heavy-handed. The 1962 distinction "a speaker implies; a listener infers" is expanded here into fourteen lines of heavy whimsy. But he offers the reader many valuable entries, and that's the important thing. He points out distinctions in such matters as *who*, *whom*; *bug*, *tap*; *like*, *as*; and *that*, *which*. He is useful on such topics as *disinterested*, *-wise*, and *data* (he deigns to point out that *data* is plural, though he disdains to do the same when discussing *media*). He is properly acerbic in commenting on such irritations as *spell out* and "implement (v.), implementation. There are less tiresome ways of saying these things." One can only regret that he chose not to include *indicate*, *underline*, *posture*, *orientate*, *kudos*. . . .

When Mr. Jordan inveighs against verbal iniquity, we must applaud him; when he is elegant — "do not use *River* after the *Schuylkill*; *kill* means stream" — we smile and wish that Philadelphia were listening. But there is another bank to this Jordan, where the flotsam and jetsam collect. He drops a period into Harry S Truman's innards. He admits that *everyone* is singular, but is singular himself in instructing us to be sloppy about *none*: "Construe as a plural unless it is desired to emphasize the idea of *not one* or *no one*" (that is, unless it is desired to utilize the word's meaning?). In discussing *among*, *between* he tells us, in thickest obscurity, that "between is correct in reference to more than two when the items are related severally and individually: *The talks between the three powers ended in agreement to divide the responsibility among them.*" Can head or tail be made of this? But what better can be expected of a man who forbids the use of *plus* as a conjunction and then whips off the smiling mask and wickedly accepts it as an adjective

and a noun? The same two faces loom over his treatment of verbs. He prefers *lent* to *loaned*, and that's nice, of course; we have a complicated language with a varied ancestry, and we should hang on to it in all its echoes and nuances. But then he prefers *dived* to *dove*, *lighted* to *lit*, and *spilled* to *spilt*. And if we cry over this spilled milk, Mr. Jordan merely tells us to go jump into the lake.

So, finally, we turn to another sense of style. We cancel our subscription to the *Times*, put the Jordan under the bed, and take down the old family Joyce. Journalists, of course, will not be able to do this. They will have to consult this manual, but they can rest assured that here, for the most part, their language is in good hands.

J. D. O'HARA

J. D. O'Hara, professor of English at the University of Connecticut, has written for a number of magazines and newspapers, including The New York Times.

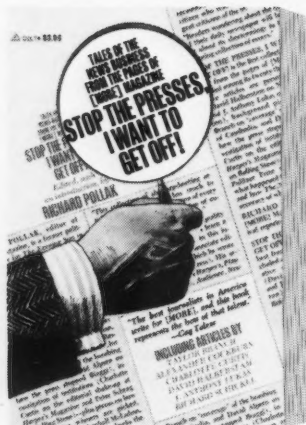
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LETTERS

What Russian crater?

TO THE REVIEW:

In awarding me a dart in your March/April issue, you violated the basic journalistic ethic of giving the accused a chance to reply.

For the record, the Russian crater story published in the *Chicago Tribune* last October was based on information that the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration were investigating a report of an accidental Russian nuclear explosion.

Since two federal agencies were taking it seriously, we thought it wise to do the same. At one point in a telephone conversation with Joe Fouchard, assistant director of public affairs for the N.R.C., Fouchard refused to discount the report as groundless. Both agencies the following day announced they had suspended their investigations into the matter, and we carried a story that day saying so.

If the *Review* is suggesting that reporters refrain from mentioning active investigations until all the facts are in, it is certainly advocating a new kind of journalism which would have a particularly profound impact on political reporting.

CASEY BUKRO
Environment editor
Chicago Tribune

The Review stands by its dart.

A dart to a laurel

TO THE REVIEW:

I noted your "laurel" for the *Charleston* (West Virginia) *Gazette* in the March/April issue.

First, I believe you should be more investigative before handing out these "laurels." If you had checked into the story, you would have found that Joan Fontaine went to West Virginia as a guest of The Arthritis Foundation in that state and was to be an inspirational speaker before a group of volunteers. She is not a member of our staff.

Miss Fontaine is not and was not the campaign representative. She is one of several celebrities who has appeared in different parts of the nation before similar groups of

volunteers. She and others serve two primary purposes. One, to inspire, and two, to generate publicity for The Arthritis Foundation. It is one of the facts of journalism that a "name" is of news value.

The president of the West Virginia Chapter of The Arthritis Foundation stated in a letter to the editor of the *Charleston Gazette* that the paper was unfair in its criticism of Miss Fontaine. You are not only unfair, but negligent in commending them.

ARTHUR O'NEIL
Director, Public Information
The Arthritis Foundation

The Review did not commend the Gazette for criticizing Joan Fontaine, but for using the occasion of her appearance on the foundation's behalf to ask questions about the foundation's activities.

The Editors

Energetic coverage

TO THE REVIEW:

Roger Morris's article, "Whatever Happened to the Natural Gas Crisis?" (CJR, March/April), illuminates an appalling lack of competent energy coverage by the bulk of the nation's media.

But in his survey of the coverage of "a dozen major papers" Mr. Morris somehow missed an important exception to the generally superficial and almost universally misleading media coverage of the natural gas situation in the summer of 1975.

Readers of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* were told in mid-August to stop worrying about the so-called "crisis" in a lengthy and trenchant article by *Inquirer* business writer Jane Shoemaker.

The story first assured readers that the threatened natural gas shortage would cause no substantial industrial layoffs or production cutbacks last winter in eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, or Delaware.

"If the situation is so well under control, why all those scary announcements?" the story then asked.

"Because, in the opinion of experts, the gas producers, the utilities, the pipeline companies, and the industrial firms all have a vested interest in seeing that the public is stirred up," it answered.

Thus, last summer, while most of the nation contemplated visions of unemployed workers huddled outside of gas-less factories in the coming winter, readers of the *Inquirer* had much of the true story.

LARRY WILLIAMS
Business editor
The Philadelphia Inquirer

The article on the natural gas crisis suffers from the same failure to dig into a complex issue with which Morris charges the press in general. I agree with him that the natural gas supply situation has been badly reported, but an article based on selected and inadequate press reports only serves to make the picture more obscure.

Writing as an information specialist with a natural gas company, I am probably a suspect witness in Morris's eyes, but I know from the experience of my company that there is simply not enough natural gas available from present reserves to supply the needs of the consumers. Since early in 1970 Columbia has had to limit sales in the area it serves, and since 1972 has not been able to take on any new customers. Columbia purchases more than 90 percent of the gas it delivers.

I know from first-hand experience with Tom O'Toole of *The Washington Post* that the GAS 'SHORTAGE' EVAPORATES headlined piece which Morris cited was a misleading story. O'Toole was writing about special, one-time purchases of surplus intrastate gas that our company made, and the implications of the headline and the lead of the article were wrong. We have gone over this with O'Toole, so this criticism is not news to him.

BRUCE QUAYLE
Columbia Gas System Service Corporation
Wilmington, Del.

Roger Morris's article was not only a timely and accurate assessment of the press's failure to report the complex nature and history of the alleged natural gas "shortage," but an indication that many reporters and news organizations can be manipulated easily by powerful forces with vested interests in the issue. The inability or failure of most reporters to take the time to dig into the issue is a disservice to the public, which needs to be fully informed, and the journalistic pro-

fession, which requires its members to do more than just report the contents of government and industry press releases.

I do hope that upon reading Mr. Morris's article reporters will analyze their approach to the natural gas issue and make the kinds of changes suggested.

EDWIN ROTHSCHILD
Acting Executive Vice President
American Natural Gas Association
Washington, D.C.

The gas supply situation cannot be evaluated in the context of what happens during one winter. The failure of the shortage to impact this past winter as severely as predicted was not due to the fact that there was more gas. It was due to a combination of five factors which minimized the obvious effects of the shortage and temporarily decreased demand. These factors were: (1) the continuation of the recession which caused a 10 percent economic slowdown and a decline in industrial gas consumption; (2) milder than normal weather over the winter — degree days (a measure of coldness of weather) were down approximately 7.5 percent from 1974. The combination of industrial slowdown and milder weather resulted in a reduction in industrial gas consumption from 8.1 tcf (trillion cubic feet) in 1974 to 6.9 tcf in 1975, down 1.2 tcf or 15 percent; (3) the Federal Power Commission granted many transmission and distribution companies, as well as large industries, the authority to purchase from the intrastate market surplus gas which was available due to the economic down-turn; (4) many gas companies, in anticipation of severe shortages which were forecast for this year and the years ahead, have taken independent actions to find new gas supplies, construct facilities to manufacture synthetic gas from petroleum products, increase storage capacities, and greatly expand conservation initiatives; (5) a switching by many industries from gas to alternate fuels — namely imported oil — which has dramatically increased fuel costs for these industries and further aggravated our country's reliance on these obviously uncertain sources of supply.

The negative impact of a continuation of this trend of short supply cries out for a permanent solution — not the expediency of year-by-year evaluation and temporary remedies based on the uncertainties of weather and levels of economic activity.

GEORGE H. LAWRENCE
Senior Vice-President
Public Affairs
American Gas Association
Arlington, Va.

Reflections on "Reflections"

TO THE REVIEW:

"Reflections on Joan Little" by Mark Pinsky (CJR, March/April) depicted rather graphically how advocacy journalism has turned reporting into show biz and made a mockery of the public's right to know. Pinsky describes himself as "a radical and feminist who tries to serve both a political cause and the cause of journalism." He seems not to have learned from his experience that these are probably mutually exclusive aims. For one thing, journalism is a profession, not a cause; the only cause, or calling, involved in journalism is a belief in the public's right to know and a passion for getting at the truth. That this calling must frequently conflict with the requirements of a political cause is amply documented in the body of Pinsky's article, though the point seems to have eluded him.

Pinsky erroneously identified Leo Frank as a black who was accused of a violent interracial sexual crime. Leo Frank was a white Jew who was accused of the murder of a white girl in the factory where he was manager. He never had a trial; he was lynched by a Georgia mob.

DIANE RAVITCH
Ass't. Professor, Teachers College
Columbia University

CJR apologizes for the error in identification, which occurred during editing.

Revisionism at New Times?

TO THE REVIEW:

Please check the *New Times* ad on page 37 of your January/February issue. You'll notice near the bottom of the center column a reproduction of the now-famed cover which showed John Kennedy gushing gore as the



bullet hit. Compared to the real cover, your ad sure looks like someone at *New Times* is trying to make us forget the big stink that resulted from their alleged bad-taste cover.

D. MacDONALD
Newhouse School of Public Communications
Syracuse University

Gainsaying writer

TO THE REVIEW:

I normally lean to the side of primness on ethics, but your strictures on the *Esquire*-Xerox-Salisbury contract (CJR, March/April) make little sense to me, especially as your questions as to what readers, magazines, and editors gain left a palpable omission: what do journalists gain?

I have spent about half my career as a staff foreign correspondent, mostly for print media, and about half as a free-lance writer. As with most journalists, to be a successful free lance was my ambition when I entered the profession, and each return to a staff post, however attractive, has meant a silent confession of partial failure. A year ago, with a fiftieth birthday on the horizon, I decided to take the plunge again. At the time, I was earning \$550 a week, with twenty-four working-days annual leave and twelve public holidays. If I took my full entitlement of fifteen days annual sick leave, this meant I was only working 208 days a year, or exactly four days a week. I was thus giving up a daily salary of about \$137. As a free lance, I would have to rent my own office again, furnish and equip it, pay my own telephone and occasional secretarial bills, and so on. I would have to pay more for health insurance and make my own pension plans. I would also have to reward myself for the material risks of entrepreneurship. I would have, in short, to find a way of earning \$200 a day — on the four-day week calculation, \$40,000 a year — to justify my decision.

How many well-researched articles can a free lance write in a year? Would twenty be a reasonable figure? How can he or she average \$2,000 an article, assuming his or her market is not limited to *Reader's Digest*, *Playboy*, and *Penthouse*? The editor might assign an article to a \$400-a-week staffer, who might take two weeks: given the overhead costs of a staffer, two weeks use of a \$400-a-week employee would probably cost the publisher about \$1,500, so that \$2,000 for a part-time contributor might be about right. But the same publisher is more likely to pay a free lance \$500. So free-lance reporters have to do other things to earn a living, in order to be able to do what they feel most justified in doing at bargain-basement prices.

The *Esquire* deal is a welcome innovation, whereby writers would receive their just share of the magazine's advertising revenue and would no longer need to subsidize their free-lance reporting. I doubt if it will ever become a widespread practice, or that it will do much for the young free-lance writer,

trying to make \$15,000 or \$20,000 a year without driving a taxi on weekends. But at least it was a start, and I do not see how it compromised Salisbury in any way.

RUSSELL WARREN HOWE
Washington, D.C.

Seeds of skepticism

TO THE REVIEW:

I have a theory about the source of Burns Roper's skepticism regarding the validity of primaries. I remember the incident very clearly. Before the 1936 election, every kid in our class at Pelham Junior High School was sporting a sunflower button for Alf Landon. Every kid but one — Bud Roper.

CHAUNCEY WILLIAMS
San Juan, Puerto Rico

Bud Roper replies: *Chauncey Williams's "voice from the past" shows that either (a) Chauncey's memory is unusually keen, or (b) what an impression one donkey can make in a field of sunflowers.*

Critiquing the critic

TO THE REVIEW:

The idea of having a regular critique on advertising in *CJR* is a good one. However, if the last two contributions from Jeff Greenfield are models of what you want, then we, the journalists who write regularly about business, are in deep trouble. Greenfield's comments are so obviously uninformed that you are playing right into the hands of businessmen who allege that journalists don't know what they are talking about when they write about business.

Let's first take his "We're Sorry" piece in the January/February issue.

In it, Greenfield describes the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company as a "\$700 million enterprise." It is, in fact, a \$6.8 billion enterprise.

Again, Greenfield states that A & P launched its Price & Pride campaign in

an attempt to recover from A & P's disastrous attempt to convert itself into a 'discount' supermarket through its 'W.E.O.' effort (W.E.O. stood for 'Where Economy Originates'), an attempt that cost the chain millions of dollars and its long-held supremacy among food chains. Safeway is now the largest.

Wrong, wrong, wrong! Those of us who have covered the supermarket scene over the past fifteen years know perfectly well that it was *not* the W.E.O. experiment that cost A & P its leadership position. On the contrary, A & P was losing ground to Safeway, year by year, well before the institution of the

W.E.O. concept. As a matter of fact, the W.E.O. ploy, by buying sales with cheap prices, delayed the entrance of Safeway into first place. These facts are well known to anyone in the grocery industry.

Greenfield's next article — "Down to the Last Detail," which appeared in the March/April issue — was about the inane world of television commercials. In it, Greenfield professes naive amazement that so much money is spent on TV commercials, both in their preparation and purchase of air time. But is it really so amazing — or even "costly" — in terms of what's at stake for a company selling a mass consumer product? Greenfield shrieks that "it will cost you nearly \$60,000 for thirty seconds of network TV time in the middle of a top-rated show such as *All in the Family*." So what? *All in the Family* gets into more than 20 million homes — and if an advertiser wanted to send a postcard to all of these homes, it would cost something like \$2 million. The fact is, television is a marvelously cost-efficient medium.

Again, Greenfield comes up with that old canard that advertising "works." Lots of advertising doesn't work, however. I can name a dozen products that went down the drain with multimillion-dollar ad budgets behind them. The reason they didn't work is simple: once consumers bought the products, they didn't like them — and refrained from repurchasing them. With the Edsel, they didn't even have to buy — they looked and rejected. But this is something Greenfield apparently cannot conceive of. He takes the consumer as an ignorant boob who is seduced easily by advertising that is "offensive, puerile, insulting to the intelligence, barbarous, intrusive, anti-humanistic." His elitism is showing all over the place.

MILTON MOSKOWITZ
San Francisco

Jeff Greenfield replies: *As to facts: Mr. Moskowitz is correct in noting the annual sales figures of A & P; in the course of re-drafting my piece a zero was dropped, making my accurate estimate into a mistake. As to the W.E.O. campaign, Mr. Moskowitz ought to consult such publications as Advertising Age and Newsweek, which identify the W.E.O. strategy as a significant element in the loss of A & P's position.*

As to interpretations: Mr. Moskowitz is, I gather, a writer; he is not, however, a reader, for he flails away at arguments I do not make. Where he hears a "shriek" I wrote a rather well-modulated statement. And not only do I agree that TV advertising is cost-effective, that is the point of the piece:

that television advertising works in part because of the money spent on its execution, and so much is spent because it works. The illustrations were designed to show how effectively television advertising creates recognizable symbols.

A final note: as one who has written and helped to produce some 200 television commercials in the last six years, I find the assertion that I don't know what I'm talking about odd. I have always found that people who use that phrase — instead of "I disagree" or "he is in error" — are very uncertain of the ground they stand on.

Still reverberating

TO THE REVIEW:

I must comment on Irv Drasnin's defense of "Guns of Autumn" (*CJR*, January/February). He claims, "As reporters, we did not say anything good or bad about hunting, but let the hunter speak for himself."

Unfortunately there is more than one kind of hunter. As Drasnin's own research assistant can confirm, she contacted a Yale sociologist, currently researching attitudes toward the natural environment, who advised her that there were at least five types of hunters, depending on motive and goal, and at least three types of opposition to hunting.

He advised her to avoid sensational footage of dying animals and to let the articulate people on all sides speak. This advice was ignored by Drasnin who chose instead to focus on the "slob" hunter. A non-hunter myself, I can understand his wish to expose this type, but it just isn't good reporting.

Further, there is no excuse for the parade of tired clichés about hunting which opened the show. Among them was the statement that somehow modern man has become a more effective killer now than ever before. Before you buy that one, speak to a wildlife biologist about the great extinction of Pleistocene fauna after *homo sapiens* crossed the land bridge from Asia to North America.

It was equally misleading at the end to give numbers of each species killed per year without reference to their reproductive strategies. The number of deer killed, for instance, must be measured against their ability to outstrip the carrying capacity (food, shelter, etc.) of their habitat.

Ironically, Drasnin missed an excellent opportunity to expose a real danger of game farms — the possibility that some of them may illegally trap or import endangered species.

HALLIE BLACK
Environmental News Service
New Haven, Conn.

REPORTS

"The Honey and the Source: Reporters and Their Status Taboo," by Tom Bethell, **The Washington Monthly**, February 1976

Why does *Hope and Fear in Washington* inspire all that gnash and growl in the Washington press corps? Because by speaking the unspeakable, Bethell suggests, author Barney Collier has violated a club taboo: his book treats journalists seriously only in terms of the status life in Washington. This is more than an unpredictable book review, however, for Bethell extends his analysis to such writers as Halberstam, Quinn, Wicker, Crouse, and Woodward and Bernstein. He develops the provocative theory that the social business of clout and climbing, manners and mannerisms may be no more trivial, and in the long run may be less so, than the heavy stuff of professional journalism. Those who doubt are referred to Boswell.

"Trends in Network Prime-Time Programming, 1953-1974," by Joseph R. Dominick and Millard C. Pearce, **Journal of Communication**, Winter 1976.

Dominick and Pearce trace the trends during a twenty-one-year period and test an interesting hypothesis — that the three major networks, constituting an oligarchy, can be expected to behave in line with classical economic theory. Sure enough, content analysis indicates the follow-the-leader pattern common to oligarchies. Further, there is a strong correlation between certain program characteristics and industry profits — suggesting that as profits mount, so does the typically oligarchical attitude of don't-rock-the-boat. The unhappy result of the system, the authors conclude, is fewer and fewer alternatives for the audience.

"Labor and the Press," by Lane Kirkland, **The American Federationist**, December 1975

Hypocrisy and ignorance are only some of the sins journalism commits in its coverage of labor, according to the veteran secretary-treasurer of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Specifically, he scores clichés and stereotypes in labor stories, erroneous assumptions about the state of the labor movement's health, failures to challenge the official line from Washing-

ton, and the consequent spread of false gospel. A harsh indictment, Kirkland's message is also a call for improvement. Among his concrete suggestions: that courses be taught in every journalism school in economics, labor-management relations, and the history of the labor movement.

"The Trial of the First Amendment," **Freedom of Information Center**, University of Missouri, 1975

Focusing on the landmark case of *Miami Herald vs. Tornillo*, this first-rate monograph examines the crucial issue of right of reply — whether a newspaper is obliged to grant to political candidates equal space to reply to its criticisms and attacks. In addition to a pair of essays, the monograph includes the decisions of the Florida court (which held that the right of reply statute strengthened the free-press concept by presenting both views), and the Supreme Court (which found that it violated the free-press guarantee). Roy M. Fisher's brilliant essay brings the issue dramatically to life. Addressing the fear of many that growing public disaffection with the media will bring new interpretations, or possibly even repeal, of the First Amendment, Fisher points out that the fact that the media are run as business enterprises, ultimately answerable to their reader-customers, provides a powerful, inherent safeguard of the public interest.

"Television Station Employment Practices, 1975: The Status of Minorities and Women," by Ralph M. Jennings and Veronica M. Jefferson, **United Church of Christ**, Office of Communication, January 1976; "Comments of National Black Media Coalition on Proposed F.C.C. Equal Employment Opportunity Policies for Broadcast Licensees," **Citizens Communications Center**, December 13, 1975

Are broadcasting stations growing less concerned about providing employment opportunities for minorities and women? The figures show that while substantial gains were made in 1972-73, the minority-job growth rate slowed in 1974, and in 1975 fell even lower — to only three-tenths of 1 percent. Of particular interest in this report are the appended computer print-outs which give

in detail the proportion of women and minorities in the upper four job categories at the various commercial and non-commercial stations. As for the new E.E.O. guidelines proposed by the F.C.C., they are, in the view of the National Black Media Coalition, "the Commission's Dred Scott decision." In a tough-minded, cogent brief, the coalition criticizes the inadequacies of the F.C.C.'s programs, and outlines substantive steps that need to be taken to eradicate discrimination in the "seriously maladjusted" industry.

"The Secret World of Walter Cronkite," by Al Reinert, **Texas Monthly**, January 1976; "Grossing Out with Publishing's Hottest Hustler," by Robert Ward, **New Times**, January 9, 1976

It would be hard to find more convincing reasons for cheer and dismay about the state of the media (not to mention the state of humanity). Here we have CBS's Walter Cronkite, the most trusted man in America; here too is *Hustler* magazine's Larry Flynt, "the Flem Snopes of Skindom." Cronkite emerges, reassuringly enough, as a strict professional of unquestionable integrity, an optimistic romantic devoted to hard news, a gregarious man who seems comfortable in our living rooms because "he is comfortable in our living rooms." Without surprises, this is a nonetheless absorbing profile of a national institution. The Flynt piece, on the other hand, is downright astonishing. *Hustler* aims to "outgross" *Playboy* and *Penthouse* in every sense of the word, and is already attracting about one and a half million readers a month. And while the magazine is "so lowbrow, so tasteless, so essentially moronic that one is tempted to write it off as a put-on," Ward shows in swift and punchy detail that it's all quite real; it is, moreover, unmistakably pushing its competitors ever closer to hard-core porn. To what does Flynt attribute his success? Just telling it the way it is. Or was that Uncle Walter?

DANIEL J. LEAB

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The Lower case

HEW is told to 'justify' sex-pot study

The (Hot Springs, Ark.) Sentinel-Record 1/29/76

Chou Remains Cremated

Journal Star (Peoria, Ill.) 1/12/76

ARE A BIG PROBLEM ARE BIG PROBLEM

The New York Times 1/16/76



Richard Basehart, left, as George Washington, and Victor Garber, as Lafayette, recreate the Valley Forge winter of 1777-78.

The (Philadelphia) Sunday Bulletin 11/30/75

Ford, Reagan Neck in Presidential Primary

Ethiopian Herald 2/24/76

While an individual's genetic inheritance clearly helps determine blood pressure, "there are a number of reasons for supposing that there is a strong governmental component," Kass said.

(N.Y.) Daily News 1/21/76

MBA STUDIES MUSHROOM

SBA News (Youngstown, Ohio) Fall 1975

Patty Hearst Must Submit To Psychiatrist, Judge Rules

The (Philadelphia) Evening Bulletin 1/17/76

Conrad's job, according to Gillespie, is to serve as a "raving ambassador for general aviation" by describing the advantages of small aircraft use to businessmen.

Sunday Patriot-News (Harrisburg, Pa.) 11/9/75

Firebombing Jury Takes Weekend Off

The Hartford (Conn.) Courant 1/31/76

So far the death toll is officially estimated at 5,000 but is expected to rise as help reaches outlying towns.

The Bridgeport (Conn.) Telegram 2/7/76

Two Women In Line For Rear Admiral

Tampa Tribune 1/23/76

Man Robs, Then Kills Himself

The Washington Post 12/19/75

PET-DOG, 3, BITES ITS MASTER, 35, TO DEATH

Daily Times (Lagos, Nigeria) 8/1/73

NEW BRUNSWICK — A county detective testified yesterday that Old Bridge Township Pt. James Samo admitted striking a Cliffwood man who later died at least once while quelling a disturbance at a wedding last May.

The News Tribune (Woodbridge, N.J.) 1/21/76

Dr. Tackett Gives Talk On Moon

Indiana Evening Gazette 3/13/76

Dr. Wade Miller, associate professor of zoology and geology, shows specimens for the first U.S. paleontology laboratory for dinosaurs. He says the new BYU building will house Pleistocene vertebrates and researchers.

The Daily Universe (Salt Lake City, Utah) 3/18/76

Mr. Spong warned the former Joan Ketner in 1952. They have three children ranging in age from 16 to 20 years.

The New York Times 3/7/76



Posthumous Medal of Honor is presented to Mrs. Hugh Eubanks, Bolivar, Tenn., who was killed while investigating a family disturbance.

Police Times 2/76



What's in a name?" Romeo and Juliet

Great names can also be great trademarks.

"Good name in man or woman...is the immediate jewel of their souls..." Othello

And great trademarks can be as valuable to you as they are to the companies that own them. Because they help ensure that when you ask for something you get what you asked for.

"Speak the speech I pray you, as I pronounced it to you..." Hamlet

So, in order to protect yourself, and us, please use Xerox as a proper adjective and not as a verb or noun. Thus, you can copy on the Xerox copier but you can't Xerox something. You can go to the Xerox copier but not to the Xerox.

"Zounds! I was never so bethump'd by words..." King John

We don't want to bethump you with words; please just use our name correctly.

XEROX

